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GERMAN SCHOLARS ON INDIA

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पुस्तकालय (विज्ञान विभाग)

विषय संख्या R
पुस्तक संख्या 013.954 N42G.1
आगत पंजिका संख्या

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GERMAN SCHOLARS ON INDIA

स्टाक सत्यीकरण ११८४-१९८५

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VOL. I

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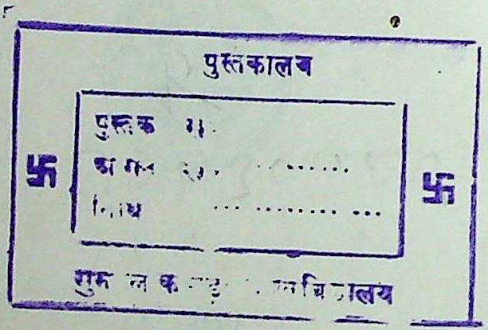

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IN MEMORIAM
MAX MUELLER

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PREFACE

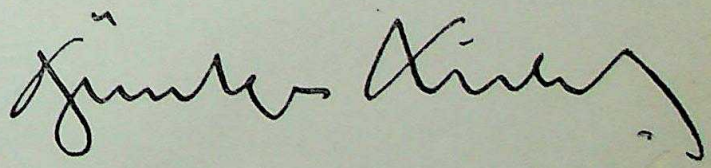
This book is dedicated to the memory of Max Mueller whose 150th Birth Anniversary falls on the 6th December, 1973. The Indian Pandits did not bestow on him the homonym "Mokśa Mūla" for merely phonetic reasons but, by so honouring him, wanted to imply that through Max Mueller's lifelong dedication not only to India's cultural heritage but also to her political cause he was, indeed, instrumental in the liberation of the country he loved so dearly.

The idea underlying the publication "German Scholars on India" is to acquaint the Indian reader with the research-work of contemporaneous German scholars and scientists on a wide range of subjects related to the land and people of this great sub-continent. That Germany's interest in India has vastly increased during the last few decades and has branched out far beyond the limits of Indology in the stricter sense of the term, is a welcome development in the cultural relations of both our countries.

This volume and the one to follow it are to give proof that — while all the branches of traditional Indology continue to be taught by German scholars — their colleagues working in the scientific fields occupy themselves in an ever-increasing degree with all other aspects of present-day India. And in the time-honoured academic German tradition, they carry on their work and researches following Gandhi's philosophy of keeping the doors and windows wide open and inviting all men of good will to share the results of their findings and to participate in their activities.

It is in this sense that "German Scholars on India" wishes to be taken not only as a tribute to Max Mueller but also as a contribution towards strengthening the spiritual and cultural relations between India and Germany.

New Delhi,
December 1973



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WHAT WERE THE CONTENTS OF THE DṚṢṬIVĀDA[1]

BY

LUDWIG ALSDORF (Hamburg)

Jaina tradition is unanimous as to the complete and irretrievable loss of the twelfth Anga, the Dṛṣṭivāda, at an early date–yet it is able to furnish surprisingly exact and detailed particulars about its divisions, subdivisions, and contents. A good deal of statements are obviously fictitious : nobody is likely to believe that e.g. the Nāṇappavāya-puvva consisted of 9999999, or the Saccappavāya-puvva of 10000006 (or 10000060) words. [2] But even apart from such monstrosities, it is quite generally speaking the very exactness and detailedness of the statements concerning an avowedly long lost text that renders those statements suspicious; as A. Weber aptly put it as early as in 1883 : [3] "one can indeed give very rich details if one consults only one's imagination." Actually, Western scholars have come to regard the tradition about the contents of the Dṛṣṭivāda as spurious in that sense that, though the (partly unintelligible) titles of some sections and sub-sections may be genuine, the lost Anga did not contain what is ascribed to it by the canonical table of contents and by the claims of a great number of the most diverse texts and subjects to be derived from or based on the Dṛṣṭivāda; in the words of Schubring [4] : "The 12th Anga, under the title of a 'discourse on (heterodox) views'....., was an instruction to apology and quite naturally fitted closely in the doctrine laid down in Angas 1–11. In the course of time it was lost. Jacobi (SBE 22, XLV) explains this fact by saying that later generations thought the discourses of their early predecessors not to be important any longer. It is more likely that their preservation appeared to be undesirable since the study of such disputes was apt to arouse heretical thoughts and activities."

The traditional claims to descent from the Dṛṣṭivāda include those of the (post-canonical) Śvetāmbar Karmagranthas and of their Digambar counterparts, the famous "Siddhānta" texts of Mudbidri, the Ṣaṭkhaṇḍāgama and the Kaṣāyaprābhṛta. When these texts, preserved in one single Ms. copy which

1. The present article was written for the Muni Jinavijaya Felicitation Volume which was to be published in 1967 but has not yet appeared. It is presented here as a token of homage to the Doyen of Jaina studies in India.

2. No less fantastic, completely unreal figures are given in Samavāyanga and Nandi for the existing Angas 1–11.

3. Indische Studien vol. 16, p. 358.

4. The Doctrine of the Jainas, p. 75.

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nobody had been allowed to read for centuries, were at last made accessible through the indefatigable endeavours of Hiralal Jain, they were hailed by him on the title page of his first edition as "throwing light for the first time upon the only surviving pieces of the lost Dṛṣṭivāda, the 12th Anga of the Jain canon." His opinion is shared by another leading Jain scholar of India, A. N. Upadhye. In a paper read at the XXVI International Congress of Orientalists in Delhi and entitled "The problem of the Pūrvas : their relics traced," he accepts the claim of the Mudbidri texts to be based on portions of the 2nd and 5th Pūrvas and ascribes the loss of these Pūrvas to the intricacy of their subjects : "The details contained in these works are highly elaborate and difficult and deal with the intricacies of the Karma doctrine.....Even from these relics, of which only one or two (allied) Mss. are preserved only in one locality, it can be justly surmised that such Pūrva texts were not studied on a very large scale, because they dealt with dry details of the Karma doctrine which were not of general interest and the study of which was even denied to many. In course of time the number of monks studying such texts gradually dwindled down; and when the Sangha pooled together the entire canonical literature, this minority of monks perhaps did not cooperate in this work with the result that even these relics of Pūrvas remained in isolation and were studied in a very small circle."

I must confess that I am not convinced by these arguments. The very intricacy of the Mudbidri texts speaks against and not for their high antiquity. In contents and style, they are typical products of later scholasticism, far removed from the much simpler language and spirit of old canonical texts. [1] Further, though these Digambar Karma texts actually ceased to be studied in modern times and were kept secret, the same is by no means true of their counter-parts and very close relations, the Śvetāmbar Karmagranthas (which actually have a number of stanzas in common with them) : they were always known and accessible and never ceased to be read and studied though they are certainly no less intricate and technical than the Mudbidri texts. The intricacy and technicality of these late scholastic works can have nothing to do with the early loss of the ancient Dṛṣṭivāda.

That any real knowledge of the contents of the 12th Anga had vanished at a relatively early time is shown with particular clearness by a hitherto unnoticed passage of the Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi, that extremely rich but as yet hardly tapped source of early medieval Jain scholarship. It seems interesting enough

1. For the contrast in style and spirit between old canonical and later scholastic texts cf. my "Āryā stanzas of the Uttarajjhāyā" (Academy of Mainz, 1966), p. 179 f., 184 ff.

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to be quoted in full and is offered here as a modest contribution to the Dṛṣṭivāda problem. On p. 35 of the printed edition [1] we read :

iyāṇiṃ angapaviṭṭhaṃ bāhiraṃ ca doṇṇi vi bhaṇṇanti. angapaviṭṭhaṃ Āyāro jāva Diṭṭhivāo, aṇangapaviṭṭhaṃ Āvassagaṃ tav-vairittaṃ ca. Āvassagaṃ Sāmāiya-m-ādi Paccakkhāṇa-pajjavasāṇaṃ; vairittaṃ kāliyaṃ ukkāliyaṃ ca. Tattha ukkāliyaṃ aṇegavihaṃ, taṃ jahā : Dasaveyāliyaṃ Kappiyākappiyaṃ evam-ādi, kāliyaṃ pi aṇegavihaṃ, taṃ jahā : Uttarajjhayaṇāṇi evam-ādi.

ettha sīso āha jahā : "Diṭṭhivāe savvaṃ ceva vaomayaṃ [2] atthi, tao tassa ceva egassa parūvaṇaṃ jujjai." āyario āha : "jai vi evaṃ, tahā vi dummeha-appāuya-itthiyādiṇi ya kāraṇāṇī pappa sesassa parūvaṇā kīrai" tti. tattha bahave dummedhā asattā Diṭṭhivāyaṃ ahijjiuṃ; appāuyāṇa ya āuyaṃ na pahuppai; itthiyāo puṇa pāeṇa tucchāo gārava-bahulāo cal'indiyāo dubbala-dhiio. ao eyāsiṃ je aises' ajjhayaṇā Aruṇovavāya-Nisīha-m-āiṇo Diṭṭhivāo ya, te na dijjanti ! tattha "tucchā" nāma puvvāvarao vakkhāṇe asamatthā, "gārava-bahulā" ṇāma gavvamantīo tti, "cal'indiyāo" ṇāma indiya-visaya-ṇiggahe Bhūyavādaṁ pappa asamatthāo, "dubbala-dhiio" ṇāma cala-cittāo, iti mā taṃ suyaṇāṇa-laddhiṃ uvajīvissanti. ao tesiṃ aises'ajjhayaṇāṇi vārijjanti tti.

"Now will be taught Angapraviṣṭa and Angabāhira. Angapraviṣṭa is (the Angas from) Ācāra to Dṛṣṭivāda; non-Angapraviṣṭa is Āvaśyaka and non-Āvaśyaka. The Āvaśyaka begins with the Sāmāyika and ends with the Pratyākhyāna; non-Āvaśyaka is kālika (to be studied during regular study hours) and utkālika (to be studied outside regular study hours). Of these, utkālika is a plurality (of texts), viz. Daśavaikālika, Kalpikākalpika and so on ; kālika, too, is a plurality (of texts), viz. Uttarādhyayana etc.

Here the pupil raises the following objection : "The Dṛṣṭivāda contains the totality of speech (i.e. all that has ever been, or can ever be, expressed in words), therefore it would have been appropriate (for the Jina) to teach that alone." The Ācārya answers : "That is quite right; yet the rest (of the sacred texts, the śrutajñāna), is taught for the sake of the dull-headed, the short-lived, the women, etc." In this (enumeration), there are many dull-headed people who are unable to study the Dṛṣṭivāda; for the short lived the life-time would not suffice; and women are as a rule empty, given to haughtiness, sensual and inconstant; therefore the Pre-eminent Texts [3] such as Aruṇovavāya, Ṇisīha, etc., and Dṛṣṭivāda are withheld from them. Here 'empty' means : unable to inter-

1. Published by the Śrī Ṛṣabhdevjī Keśrīmaljī Śvetāmbar Saṃsthā, Ratlām, Indore 1928.

2. Edition wrong : vaogataṃ (t being the "takāra," ga misread for ma); cf. below the quotation from Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya.

3. Cf. Hemacandra's rendering as atiśayavanty adhyayanāni in his commentary on Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya 552 quoted below.

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pret coherently; 'given to haughtiness' means: arrogant; 'sensual' means: unable to restrain sensual passions in connection with the Bhūtavāda; [1] 'inconstant' means: fickle-minded; therefore they shall not profit from obtaining that (part of) śrutajñāna. For this reason the Pre-eminent Texts are forbidden to them."

The above passage is versified by Jinabhadra in the two stanzas Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya 551 f. and expatiated upon by Maladhārī Hemacandra as follows:

.....Pūrvāṇy abhidhīyante, teṣu ca niḥśeṣaṃ api vāṅmayam avatarati; ataś caturdaśa-pūrvātmakaṃ dvādaśam evāngam astu, kiṃ śeṣānga-viracanena angabāhya-śruta-racanena vā ? ity āśankhyāha :

jai vi ya Bhūyāvāe savvassa vaomayassa oyāro,
nijjūhaṇā tahā vi hu dummehe pappa itthī ya. 551.

aśeṣa-viśeṣānvitasya samagra-vastu-stomasya bhūtasya, sadbhūtasya, vādo, bhaṇanaṃ, yatrāsau Bhūtavādaḥ; athavā: anugatavyāvṛttāpariśeṣa-dharma-kalāpānvitānāṃ sabheda-prabhedānāṃ bhūtānāṃ, prāṇināṃ, vādo yatrāsau Bhūtavādo, Dṛṣṭivādaḥ; dīrghatvaṃ ca takārasyārṣatvāt, tatra yady api Dṛṣṭivāde sarvasyāpi vāṅmayasyāvatāro 'sti tathāpi durmedhasāṃ, tad-avadhāraṇādy-ayogyānāṃ manda-matīnaṃ, tathā śrāvakādīnāṃ strīṇāṃ cānugrahārthaṃ niryūhanā, viracanā, śeṣa-śrutasya.

nanu strīṇāṃ Dṛṣṭivādaḥ kim iti na dīyate ? ity āha :

tucchā gārava-bahulā cal'indiyā dubbalā dhiie ya
iya aises'ajjhayaṇā Bhūyāvāo ya no 'tthīṇaṃ. 552

yadi hi Dṛṣṭivādaḥ striyāḥ katham api dīyeta, tadā tucchādi-svabhāvatayā 'aho ahaṃ, yā Dṛṣṭivādam api paṭhāmi !' ity evaṃ garvādhmāta-mānasāsau puruṣa-paribhavādiṣv api pravṛttiṃ vidhāya durgatim abhigacchet. ato niravadhi-kṛpā-nīra-nīradhibhiḥ parānugraha-pravṛttair bhagavadbhis tīrthakarair Utthāna-Samutthāna-śrutādiny atiśayavanty adhyayanāni Dṛṣṭivādaś ca strīṇāṃ nānujñātaḥ. anugrahārthaṃ punas tāsām api kincic chrutaṃ deyaṃ ity ekādaśāngādi-viracanaṃ saphalam.

The passages quoted here might at first sight suggest that at the time of their composition the Dṛṣṭivāda still was a regular object of study for able-minded males; a more attentive reading will soon make it clear that on the

1. Bhūyavāya is one of the ten names of the Diṭṭhivāya enumerated Ṭhāṇanga, sūtra 742; Abhayadeva explains very briefly : bhūtāḥ, sadbhūtāḥ padārthās, teṣāṃ vādo Bhūtavādaḥ. If this explanation is correct the title Bhūtavāda stresses the *refutation* of the heretical doctrines (dṛṣṭi) exclusively named in the ordinary title Dṛṣṭivāda. Cf. also the *two* longer explanations of Hemcandra ad Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya 551 quoted below.

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contrary they merely testify to a firmly established if somewhat naïve belief that "the Dṛṣṭivāda contains *everything*"—a belief obviously betraying complete ignorance of the real contents of the long-lost text and, on the other hand, conveniently permitting to derive from "the Dṛṣṭivāda" or "the Pūrvas" any text or subject which it was desired to invest with canonical dignity. I know of no other passage where the universality of contents of the Dṛṣṭivāda is claimed so openly and so bluntly. And this bluntness and naïvety is no doubt the reason why, significantly, the great Haribhadra in his Āvaśyaka Ṭīkā omits our passage altogether : as in many other cases, he eliminates what he feels to be obsolete or what does not come up to his more exacting standard of refined scholarship; he may also have been reluctant to reproduce the somewhat scathing remarks about women. For the modern scholar, just what led him to reject the passage is apt to enhance its interest.

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NOTES ON THE FORMATION OF BUDDHIST SECTS AND THE ORIGINS OF MAHĀYĀNA[1]

BY

HEINZ BECHERT (Goettingen)

Though the extent of surviving literature from the earlier period of Indian Buddhism is tremendous, our understanding of many important events and developments in the history of the Buddha's religion in India has remained controversial. This is mainly due to the fact that India did not develop a tradition of historiography prior to the first Muslim invasions in the subcontinent. It is all the more surprising that there was practically no Buddhist historical writing in mainland India, since it was essential for the validity of a monk's ordination (upasampadā) to establish the fact that it is based on an uninterrupted succession commencing from an ordination granted by the Buddha himself. The lists of the so-called "Patriarchs" of later Buddhist sects were drawn up for this very purpose. But a survey of the texts which allege to contain the church history of Indian Buddhism shows that they do not have even the very basic qualities of historical writing and that they contradict each other to such a degree that it is impossible to find out the historical facts from the reports on many important developments.

An attempt to convert the loosely connected traditions into a real history of Buddhism was made only when Buddhism had spread outside the subcontinent. Thus, the chronicles of Ceylon (Dīpavaṃsa und Mahāvaṃsa) can be considered as the most ancient pieces of existing historical writing composed in the environment of Indian culture. It is, however, noteworthy that the earliest Ceylonese chronicles were pieces of national historiography of a small country striving to preserve a distinct political and cultural identity vis-a-vis the strong power of South Indian empires. Though the existing chronicles of Ceylon–written in the 4th and 5th centuries A. D., but based on an earlier tradition of historical writing commencing in the 2nd century B. C.–were written by monks, large portions of these books are dominated by the mentality of the political historiography of Ceylon. To a certain extent, the introduction of Buddhaghosa's Samantapāsādikā (5th century) can be considered as containing a church history. The first Ceylonese work which shows all qua-

1. This paper is based on a public lecture held at Yale University, New Haven, on November 20th, 1969, when the author was a visiting professor at that university. Its purpose is to outline some of the problems of the religious history of early Buddhism and to summarize some of the author's results.

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lifications which we would expect from a real ecclesiastical history, was written as late as in the 14th century. It is the Nikāyasangrahaya, composed by the Mahāthera Dharmakīrti II, the then Sangharāja or head of the Sangha in the Island. Its author has also included earlier material transmitted outside the chroniclers' traditions. Indian Buddhist works give information on the origination of Buddhist sects, but again, the material was arranged in the form of full-fledged historical works only outside India. The Tibetan histories of Buddhism by Bu-ston, Tāranātha etc., therefore occupy an important place in Buddhist literature.

In the absence of reliable Indian historical traditions, the early history of Buddhism was worked out mainly with the help of indirect evidence. The main divisions of the relevant material are : 1. inscriptional evidence, 2. casual references in doctrinal texts, 3. comparison of the contents of existing versions of the canonical texts of Buddhism, and 4. the reports of Chinese pilgrims. To these, two other important sources of information must be added, which have been largely neglected, viz. the comparison of the terminology used in Vinaya or ecclesiastical law of different schools or sects, and the linguistic peculiarities of texts surviving in Indian languages. With the help of these sources, quite a number of historical details can be traced, if we make use of generally accepted criteria of probability. Let me mention only a few examples. We can establish the probability of an historical kernel in the traditions concerning the First Buddhist Council at Rājagṛha on the ground of an episode found in the more conservative redaction of the tradition, viz. the episode of Purāṇa. This elder monk is said to have refused to take part in and to accept the proceedings of the council. He declared that he would only accept what he himself had learned from the Buddha. There is no mentioning of any disciplinary action against Purāṇa, the standpoint of whom is tacitly accepted as a legal one. It is not possible to imagine that such an episode should have been invented by monks who claimed the universal validity of that council. (The argument proposed by André Bareau in his study "Les premiers conciles bouddhiques", Paris 1955, p. 24, that this episode must be of younger origin because it is contained only in the traditions of the Theravādin, Mahīśāsaka, Dharmaguptaka and Haimavatas and not in the Mahāsānghika texts is based on a purely formalistic method without consideration of the contents of the texts). This does not imply, of course, that we should accept the claim of the tradition that the canon was collected and recited by the first council. It is, however, possible that the earliest parts of the later Vinayapiṭaka, i. e. the basic formulas of the Prātimokṣa or confession liturgy had been agreed upon at such an early meeting.

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Another instance of an unchanged and uncensored record is that of the fruitless attempt of the Buddha to convert the first man he met after his enlightenment. When the Buddha had delivered his long formula, this man said "hupeyya", "may be", shook his head, turned from the road, and went off (Vinaya I, p. 8). Besides general considerations of probability, the linguistic peculiarity of this word attests the high age of the account. The optative form "hupeyya" is not found in any other Pāli text and it must be considered a slang word of the Benares dialect at the time of the Buddha.

A study of Vinaya terminology in Pāli and Buddhist Sanskrit sources yields surprising results. We should expect that the linguistic affinities of Vinaya terminology correspond to the main lines of the doctrinal affinities known from the historical traditions on the origin and spread of early Buddhist sects. But this is not the case. Since Mahāsānghika–Lokottaravāda Vinaya texts have come to light in Buddhist Sanskrit language recently, we know that the Vinaya terminology of this school shows similarities to that of its most extreme adversary in the later doctrinal discussions, viz. that of the Pāli school. (See Gustav Roth, Terminologisches aus dem Vinaya der Mahāsāṃghika–Lokottaravādin, Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlaendischen Gesellschaft 118, 1968, p. 334–348).

Since the Vinaya terminology generally remained unchanged once it was accepted, this observation allows us to trace a stratum in the diversification of early Buddhism which is prior to the formation of the sects that are known to us. It seems that this stratum represents the formation of local monastic communities or Sanghas that had their own traditions, but had not yet developed into sects. Another vestige of this stage is apparent in the old classifications of the sacred texts according to nine angas ("members"), which later on was given up in favour of the "three baskets" or tripiṭaka classification, though traces of it survived in the sub-headings of the fifth part of the second piṭaka or "basket", the Khuddaka–Nikāya or Kṣudrakāgama.

In the second stratum we observe the formation of schools or sects based on the acceptance of certain developments and/or interpretations of monastic discipline. It is important to note that the separation of these sects took place in a way in which a formal violation of the "sanghabheda" rule could be avoided. The new term "nikāya" ("group") was used for these sects. The sanghabheda rule must have been formulated in an earlier period. Though Dr. Biswadeb Mukherjee's study of the Devadatta traditions (Die Überlieferung von Devadatta, dem Widersacher des Buddha, in den kanonischen Schriften, München 1966) has made it clear that the existing versions of this account do not belong to the earliest strata of Buddhist literature, it cannot be doubted

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that an injunction against the splitting of the Sangha should have belonged to the earliest set of monastic rules. In the old explanatory passage which came to be included in the canonical Vinayapiṭaka in Pāli, disagreements on vinaya questions are mentioned as motivations for sanghabheda, whereas there is no reference to dogmatical controversies. This shows that these passages were formulated before the period of the formation of dogmatic schools.

The transformation of local Sangha communities into distinct schools or vinaya sects, which were called nikāya, must have taken place in a period of intensifying traffic, i. e. in the period that immediately preceded the Maurya period and in the Maurya period itself. The first epigraphical evidence of these developments is found in King Aśoka's edict against Sanghabheda. The King, who had become a patron of Buddhism, was very much concerned about the decaying moral conduct in the great monasteries, and he purged the Order from those monks who had caused sanghabheda. He did this by supporting, with the power of the state, the application of the old rules and procedures of Buddhists ecclesiastical law against the violators of the prescriptions of vinaya. Though the relevant action had to be taken by the monks themselves as a vinayakarma, i.e. a formal act of a complete assembly of the monks of a particular place, Aśoka's activity represented, for all practical purposes, a massive interference of state power into internal matters of the Buddhist monastic community, and, at the same time, the establishment of a patronage of the state over the Sangha. Aśoka's action has become the model and the prototype of state–Sangha relations in Ceylonese and Southeast Asian Theravāda Buddhism.

Historically, however, a connection of Aśoka with a particular nikāya or sect as claimed by later Theravāda tradition and by several modern scholars cannot be established. It can be clearly shown by a careful analysis of historical records and inscriptions that the king was not partial towards any section of the Sangha. (See H. Bechert, Aśokas "Schismenedikt" und der Begriff Sanghabheda, Wiener Zeitschrift fuer die Kunde Sued–und Ostasiens 5, 1961, p. 18–52). Furthermore, the records of the Buddhist missions under the patronage of Asoka can be connected with the development of a group of Buddhist sects which is termed "Vinaya sects" by Erich Frauwallner. The Vinayapiṭakas of four of these schools have been handed down, viz. that of the Sarvāstivādin, Dharmaguptakas, Mahīśāsakas and the Pāli school. As a matter of fact, these four versions of the Vinayapiṭaka are clearly derived from one original tradition. (See E. Frauwallner, The Earliest Vinaya and the Beginnings of Buddhist Literature, Roma 1956).

It is, however, important to note that not long after another type of

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nikāyas came into existence, viz. the doctrinal or dogmatic schools. These came into existence as a rule inside the schools which had been formed on the basis of local communities and/or on the basis of vinaya controversies. Remarkably, existing differences did not prevent the taking over and adaptation of patterns of literary composition and arrangement as well as that of texts or portions of texts. Thus, e. g., the pattern of the arrangement of Vinaya material which seems to have been developed within the tradition of the Vinaya schools–which for practical purposes can be identified with the Sthaviravāda tradition–has been adopted by all schools. The non–Sthaviravādins did, of course, insert their own textual traditions into the model they took over. Similarly, the arrangement of Sūtra material into five nikāyas or āgamas has been adopted by all sects at a time when there was already a very substantial difference in the textual material transmitted by the schools. It is unnecessary to postulate an "Urkanon" or original canon as Heinrich Lueders has done. The linguistic peculiarities collected by Lueders from Pāli and Buddhist Sanskrit texts do belong not to one stratum but to different strata, and those which can be identified as belonging to the earliest stratum go back to the earliest oral tradition existing prior to any form of arrangement of the texts or canon. The problem has to be reexamined on the basis of broader collections than those presented in Lueders' book "Beobachtungen zur Sprache des buddhistischen Urkanons" (Berlin 1954) which has, however, given an impetus for further studies in the field.

On the other hand, we can reconstruct the earliest form of particular traditions on the basis of a comparative study of the contents of existing texts as Ernst Waldschmidt has done with the relations of the most important periods of the life of the Buddha, but this very study has proven that the existing patterns of arrangement even of the most ancient material are of secondary origin–with the important exception of the Prātimokṣa or confession liturgy which has been mentioned before as a text which was formulated and arranged at a very early period.

These peculiarities of early Buddhist literary tradition and the considerable degree of liberty in the exchange of textual material was rendered possible by the fact that the texts were transmitted exclusively by oral tradition during that early period. We do not know exactly when the writing down of the sacred texts took place in India, but we know from the Ceylonese chronicles that in Ceylon it took place under King Vaṭṭagāmaṇī Abhaya, 2nd century B. C. Some scholars have expressed doubts about the reliability of this account, but again it is the study of linguistic details which helps to establish beyond doubt that the texts had had a period of oral tradition in Ceylon before they

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were written on palm-leaves. This is clear from the existence of undoubtably old Sinhalese-Prakrit forms in Pāli suttas. These forms were used to characterize the speech of heretical teachers as uneducated speech. (See H. Bechert, Singhalesisches im Pālikanon, Wiener Zeitschrift fuer die Kunde Sued-und Ostasiens 1, 1957, p. 71-75). If my conclusion from a comparative study of early avadāna texts are correct, the writing down of the texts took place in India at about the same time. Since the texts had been written down, the limits between the nikāyas had become less flexible, and it seems that about that time most of the sects enumerated in the classical lists had already come into existence. We do have, of course, positive evidence of large scale exchange of material between different nikāyas even after that period. Thus, I could trace extracts from Mūlasarvāstivāda works taken over not only in classical Pāli commentaries and in the Nettipakaraṇa, but also in the Pāli canon itself. (Cf. H. Bechert, Bruchstuecke buddhistischer Verssammlungen, Berlin 1961).

However, basically one particular redaction of the canonical writing was accepted in each particular nikāya. In the case of the Ceylonese nikāyas, we now know that at least the two earliest and most influential subsects-Mahāvihāravāsin and Abhayagirivāsin-did make use of the same canon in Pāli with very minor differences. This becomes evident from references in comparatively early sources as well as from a study of the surviving texts of the Abhayagiri school (e. g., the Saddhanîmopāyana by Abhayagiricakravartin).

Approximately in that very period when the canonical texts were written down, another important innovation was started, which was to divide the Buddhist world ever since, viz. the formation of Mahāyāna, the "great vehicle." That Mahāyāna itself is not to be conceived as a "sect" is settled by unambiguous textual evidence. The formation of Mahāyāna is contrasted with Śrāvakayāna, the vehicle of the hearers, or Hīnayāna, the small vehicle i. e. with the old doctrine. The so-called "sects", i. e. the nikāyas or vādas, on the other hand had come into being inside the development of Hīnayāna or Śrāvakayāna.

Whereas the nikāyas were defined as groups of monks that mutually acknowledged the validity of their upasampadā or higher ordination and made use of particular recensions of the sacred texts, the rise of Mahāyāna Buddhism was a development which pervaded the whole sphere of Buddhism and all nikāyas. Mahāyāna is the confession of all those who approve a particular request to all Buddhists. This is the request to go the path leading to the status of a Buddha-the long and troublesome path of a Bodhisatva, a "Buddha-to-be",- while the Śrāvakayāna, the old doctrine, had only urged upon endeavour for redemption of one's own. For those advocating this new religious program, the old controversies of the nikāyas lost much of their importance, so that

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Mahāyāna doctrines of similar character could spread in quite different congregations. Early Mahāyāna texts, e. g. Prajñāpāramitās, Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra, Gaṇḍavyūha etc., were accepted by monks of many nikāyas.

Since the Mahāyānic texts claim to represent that part of the teachings of the historical Buddha, which had been hidden to the public for a certain period, the authors of most of these texts were very careful to avoid references which could help us to trace the place and the time of their origin. Here, again, the study of linguistic peculiarities can serve a useful purpose. It has been concluded from the language of the Nepalese recension of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka that this recension of the work originated in the north-western parts of the sub-continent. (Cf. Hiaen-lin Dschi, Die Umwandlung der Endung-aṃ in-o und-u im Mittelindischen, Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.—hist. Kl. 1944, No. 6).

We learn from the accounts of Chinese pilgrims, and from the Indian Buddhist sources themselves, that there had been Mahāyānic groups in various nikāyas. Thus, a late text like the Kriyāsangrahapañjikā still emphasizes that the adherents of Mahāyāna must undergo the ordination or upasampadā as prescribed by their nikāya before being introduced as Mahāyāna monks by another formal act. Thus, the outside forms of the old nikāyas were preserved, though they did not retain their original importance. It remained a general criterion of membership in the Buddhist Congregation that a monk had undergone an upasampādā leading back in a continuous tradition to the Buddha himself that is validly accomplished in accordance with the rules of Vinaya. Therefore the formalities prescribed in the Vinaya had to remain untouched, and a particularly Mahāyānic Vinaya literature has been written only very late, not in order to replace the old Vinaya but existing only in addition to it. In this respect, a change took place only in times of decay. But even the Vajrācāryas of modern Nepalese Buddhism-although they have ceased to be monks-have retained the first of the old monastic ceremonies, viz. that of pravrajyākarma, as a prerequisite for the tantric abhiṣeka ceremonies of their ācāryas. I have been able to collect the relevant texts, which are not printed and generally not shown even to outsiders as part of the ritual tradition, during a recent visit to Nepal. In countries with an unbroken monastic Mahāyāna tradition, a particular Vinaya is still the basis of monastic life, e. g. the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya for Tibetan Buddhism and the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya for Chinese and Vietnamese monks.

Taking into consideration these facts, we should be sceptical facing any attempt to locate the growth of Mahāyāna in one particular nikāya. Some

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scholars have tried to locate it in the Mahāsānghika tradition, other have maintained that the doctrines of Mahāyāna had come into being or had been developed within the Sarvāstivāda school. By the adherents of the latter opinion, as an argument it is mentioned that in some important Mahāyāna texts passages from the old canon are quoted in the recension of the Sarvāstivāda school. To this argument we have to object that in North India the Sarvāstivāda school was one of the most widespread of the old schools and, therefore, their Tripiṭaka was widely used. Because the adherents of Mahāyāna stuck to the old forms of monastic life, they also stuck to their membership in the nikāya to which their upasampadā tradition belonged, and it was quite natural for them to quote the old texts in accordance to this membership. This had been the case in later times, still. In the "History of Buddhism", Bu-ston (transl. by Obermiller, p. 197) mentions that for a certain period Tibetan Buddhists only translated texts of the Mūlasārvāstivāda-nikāya from among the Hīnayāna texts available to them. Similarly, the opinion that particularly the Mahāsānghika school formed the only cradle of Mahāyāna cannot pass a thorough examination, though certain dogmatical opinions attributed to them foreshadow basic Mahāyāna beliefs. (See Etienne Lamotte, Sur la formation du Mahāyāna, Asiatica, Festschrift Friedrich Weller, Leipzig 1954, p. 377–396).

According to these conditions, we understand how monks of both vehicles could live together peacefully in the same monastic congregations and could join the same vinayakarmas, i. e. formal acts of ecclesiastical law, if they belonged to the upasampadā tradition of the same nikāya, whereas monks—whether Hīnayāna or Mahāyāna—did not perform together vinayakarmas, if they did belong to different nikāyas. In this connection, the controversy on the explanation of the term "Mahāyāna-sthavira" in Yuan Chwang's records can easily be settled. The Mahāyāna-Sthaviravādin are those sections of the Sthaviravāda community who had accepted Mahāyāna doctrines although they still belonged to Sthaviravāda school as far as bhikṣu ordination and vinayakarma was concerned. I found an interesting piece of evidence for the existence of Mahāyāna-Sthaviravādin or Mahāyāna-Theravādin texts in Ceylon, viz. a long completely Mahāyānic passage in a late section of the Pāli canon. This passage forms the Buddhāpadāna, the first part of the Apadāna book. These Mahāyāna-Sthaviras of Ceylon did use the Pāli canon as their particular version of the Hīnayāna canonical texts in the same way as many North Indian Mahāyānic communities used the Sarvāstivāda canon. It is interesting to note that this early Ceylonese Mahāyāna text was composed in Pāli and not translated from Sanskrit, while later Ceylonese Mahāyāna tradition preferably used Sanskrit as its sacred language. When orthodoxy was successful in

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Ceylon in finally suppressing the Mahāyānist faction in the Sangha–called Vetullavāda or Vaitulyavāda in the Island–the Mahāyānists thus had already been successful to obtain recognition of one of thir texts as part of the generally accepted Tripiṭaka, and this text therefore survived the destruction of the literature of the Ceylon Vaitulyavādin.

These indistinct limits between the two vehicles can only be understood if in the early stage of the development of Mahāyāna the differences between the doctrines of the two vehicles were not very deep, and if the new doctrine had developed from the concepts of the old one without a sharp rupture.

There is, as you know, a large number of studies on the doctrines of early Mahāyāna Buddhism and its connection with early Buddhist thought. The idea of śūnyatā or "emptity" has been traced back to canonical sūtras, e. g. to the Mahāvedallasutta of the Majjhimanikāya. In a similar way, the concept of the three kāyas or "bodies" of a Buddha in Mahāyāna doctrine seems to be based on the concept of two kāyas, rūpakāya and dharmakāya, in early Buddhist sūtras. Although there is a connection between early Buddhism and Mahāyāna in the development of these and many other concepts, the most important peculiarity of Mahāyāha is the already mentioned Bodhisatva ideal which also can be regarded as the most dynamic force for the development of early Mahāyāna. Moreover, the example of the theoretical foundations of the Bodhisatva ideal is such as to show us the connections of Mahāyāna with old Buddhism. The distinction of three kinds of beings not to be reborn belongs to the pre–Mahāyāna period. Besides the Samyaksambuddhas, i. e. the Buddhas who have attained supreme enlightenment by their own means without the help of others and who announce the doctrine for the benefit of others, there are the Pratyekabuddhas, who have attained enlightenment by their own means, but are unable to expose the doctrine to others, and finally the Arhats who are pupils of a Buddha and who attain salvation after they had come to know the doctrine as exposed by a Buddha. There have never been controversies about this threefold division, though questions of the particular nature and the essential features of the Buddhas and the Arhats have been disputed among the nikāyas. As an example for these controversial questions I quote the question if a Buddha be a man in the proper sense of the word, or if he only produce a delusive body in order to announce the doctrine by means of his life and words. Another such dispute was if an Arhat, under certain circumstances, could fall back into Saṃsāra, i. e. if he could loose his saintly character.

The more important question for our problem, however, is the question, for which deeper reasons one being becomes a Buddha, another one an Arhat.

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The tradition that Gautama, in one of his former existences as Sumedha, had delivered a vow (praṇidhi) before the Buddha Dīpankara to become a Buddha himself, was accepted as sufficient in the earlier period of Buddhism. By force of this vow, which was confirmed by the prophecy–vyākaraṇa–of the former Buddha, Sumedha became a Bodhisatva. The vow and the prophecy was subsequently to be renewed, whenever the Bodhisatva met other former Buddhas. It was only after innumerable reincarnations and after accomplishing innumerable good deeds, that the Bodhisatva was finally born as Siddhārtha Gautama, the son of the Śākya king Śuddhodana and that he attained to full enlightenment as a Buddha. Consequently, no result of mere chance is involved, if a being is enlightened as a Buddha. Similarly, it is the result of various conditions and of different stages of development in former existences, if other beings become Pratyekabuddhas or Arhats. Some texts tell us that Arhats had expressed the wish (praṇidhi) to become an Arhat in presence of a former Buddha but not the vow to become a Buddha.

As a consequence of the teaching of a Buddha numerous beings attain Nirvāṇa without having gone a Bodhisatva's long and troublesome path of accumulating merits. Thus they earn a conspicuous benefit from the fact that the Bodhisatva has gone this path. The understanding of this is reflected in Vasubandhu's statement in the Abhidharmakośa that the real existence of other beings has to be taken for granted, because otherwise there would be no possibility of teaching the doctrine. These views seem to be contradictory to the so-called Law of Karma, the doctrine that every being can only earn the fruits of his own deed; for it is the actions of the Bodhisatva in form of the announcement of the doctrine, which bring benefit to other beings. If these beings had not become aware of the doctrine, they had not yet a chance to attain to arhatship. Therefore, the Buddha's teaching and the foundation of his Śāsana or religion has its peculiar object only insofar as it shows the way of salvation to beings who are not mature for salvation by means of their own karma, i. e. who are unable to become Pratyekabuddhas. It is for this very purpose that a Bodhisatva has to accomplish more good deeds than are necessary for his own salvation. Only in this case the statement of the old texts has its sense, that the doctrine has been announced for the benefit of many people (bahujana-hitāya).

The laws of connection between the deeds and their results or "fruits of deed", karmaphala, are to be harmonized herewith only on the basis of the assumption that parts of a Buddha's karmic results of his previous efforts as a Bodhisatva pass over to his audience by way of his teaching. His own lengthened way to Nirvāṇa shortens the way of his hearers. A transmission of

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religious merits takes place : This is explicitly stated only in Mahāyāna texts, but not in the literature of Śrāvakayāna or Hīnayāna. The decision to offer up one's own merits for the benefit of others is a fundamental part of the decision to become a Bodhisatva. It is termed generation of "bodhicitta". Two concepts were coined which are important in this context : puṇyānumodanā and bodhipariṇāmanā.

In the texts of old Buddhism, anumodanā is the "joyous acceptance" of a gift or of a sacrifice, in the terminology of Vinaya it is the joyous consent to important meritorious actions. Every gift to the monastic congregation is meritorious for both partners, for the receiving monks as well as for the donor. When a monk receives a donation, he procures the opportunity for a layman to earn high merit, and therefore he does a good deed himself.

The original meaning of anumodanā has been amplified in the Mahāyāna texts; puṇyānumodanā is the joyous consent to all good actions, by means of which the beings get rid of the tortures of the hell and go the right way to Nirvāṇa under the guidance of the Buddhas. This attitude removes the boundaries between one's own striving for Nirvāṇa and that of others. The necessary complement of anumodanā is pariṇāmanā, the sacrifice of one's own merits for the benefit of all beings for the purpose of progress on the path to Nirvāṇa. Therefore it is called bodhipariṇāmanā. This is the decision to make use of one's own merits not for quick salvation of one's own, but for the long way of a Bodhisatva.

The problem involved is not explicitly discussed in the early Buddhist literature, i. e. in Hīnayāna or Śrāvakayāna texts. But actually the concept of transferring merit to suffering ghosts, pretas, on the occasion of a dakṣinā (offering) is already found in early texts viz. in the Petavatthu of the Pāli canon or the Pretāvadāna of the Sarvāstivāda literature. Perhaps it is influenced by ideas of ancestral sacrifice. There can be no doubt, however, that the notion of transferring merit is found in these texts, though it has another name here.

The Theravādins, however, in connection with their attempt to delimitate their own doctrine against other views, arrived at the negation of the possibility to transfer merit. Consequently, the view that "one being could help the consciousness of another one" is repudiated in the Kathāvatthu (XVI. 2.), one of the seven books of the Pāli Abhidharmapiṭaka. As a justification, the Buddha's word that everybody has to get on with his Karma himself, is quoted. Exactly in the same manner the theory is repudiated that one being can procure happiness for another being which does not result from his karma (paro parassa sukhaṃ anuppadeti, Kathāvatthu XVI. 3.). This refutation is based on the

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argument, that it is also impossible for one being to inflict pain upon another one which does not result from his own karma. These views of the author of the Kathāvatthu can hardly be justified if we remember our previous considerations. Other Hīnayāna schools did not share the somewhat extreme standpoint of this text. These schools differ from the Mahāyāna not by denying the possibility of transferring merit, but in the will of their adherents to confine themselves to their own salvation, i. e. to make use of the beneficial effects of the Buddha's teaching without own efforts for the salvation of others. On the other hand, the adherents of Mahāyāna or Bodhisatvayāna do want to contribute to the salvation of others.

The repudiation of the opinion that a being could offer good karma to others found in the Kathāvatthu had no permanent results in the development of the doctrine of the Theravādins themselves. The attitude of defense against the growth of Mahāyānic influence which is a mark of the Kathāvatthu was mitigated in later days. Post-canonical texts of the Theravādins contain statements about transferring merit just as avadāna texts of other schools. E. g., we read in the Mahāvaṃsa (44. 109) that king Jeṭṭhatissa before committing suicide asked his wife to recite the holy texts and to transfer to him the merit of his performance. Similar examples are found in many post-canonical Pāli texts. The practice of transferring merit belongs to the most important usages of modern Theravāda Buddhism, i. e. the so-called Southern Buddhism in Ceylon and Southeast Asia. It is designated by the expression puññānumodanā and pattidāna (prāptidāna). The word puññānumodanā covers both puṇyānumodanā and pariṇāmanā of the Mahāyāna texts.

Thus we read in an exposition of religious duties for pilgrims in the Sinhalese booklet Manoraṃjanī Bauddha-ädahilla under the title prāpti-dānaya or pin dīma (i. e. puṇyadāna, gift of merit) : "After a pilgrimage it is the duty of every Buddhist, to accomplish a puṇyānumodanā (pin anumodan), for the deities protecting the world and the doctrine, for one's kinsmen, and for all beings existing in the world."

The fact that the possibility of transferring merit-a concept originating from the very beginnings of Mahāyāna Budhism—has been acknowledged by all Buddhists—by the adherents of the "Great Vehicle" as well as by the Theravādins—confirms clearly to what extent this theory has to be considered as a logical consequence of the doctrines of early Buddhism.

Thus we must not be astonished if we find traces of the Bodhisatva ideal in many texts of the Sarvāstivādins, e. g. the Avadānaśataka. These traces are not to be explained as outside influences i. e. influences from Mahāyāna doc-

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trines. On the contrary, these ideas followed quite naturally from the dynamics of early Buddhist thought–and Mahāyāna was based on these.

In this connection, it is useful to note that the Bodhisatva ideal, in these cases, is connected mainly with those forms of the doctrine which can be called "lay Buddhism" in a wider sense. The vow to become a Bodhisatva is open for lay followers in the same way as for the monks. Here, the difference between laity and Sangha which had been so essential for early Buddhism, has become minimal. It is not a mere chance, therefore, that many of the great Sūtras of Mahāyāna, the Mahāvaipulyasūtras, are addressed not to monks, but to kulaputras, to the "people of good families".

There can be no doubt that a number of other developments also contributed to the rise of Mahāyāna, e. g. the bhakti movement. The most important innovation, however, was the generalization of the request to make the Bodhisatva's vow and consequently, the availability of a treasure of merit to the faithful. This was a positive departure from the original doctrine : Mahāyāna Buddhism had come into existence. For scholars working in the field of comparative religion it may be interesting to notice that the early Mahāyāna concept of a "treasure of merit" finds a very close parallel in the notion of the "treasure of the church" in Roman Catholic dogma since the 13th century.

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DID A LOCATIVE ENDING IN *-ESMIṂ* EXIST IN BUDDHIST SANSKRIT ?*

BY

FRANZ BERNHARD † (Hamburg)

1. Franklin Edgerton[1] holds that in the paradigm of the *a*-declension a Locative Singular ending in *-esmiṃ*[2] is one of the most conspicuous and notable characteristics of Buddhist Sanskrit.

1. 1. Already when the very first Buddhist Sanskrit texts became known the Mss showed a phonemic sequence */-esmiṃ/* in the termination of *a*-declension, and this alternated so often with the pronominal ending *-asmiṃ* , as if the one ending were the pure allo-form of the other. The ending *-asmiṃ* was known

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1. Franklin Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, Banaras 1954, p. 58.

2. For the metrically conditioned variant */-esmi/* naturally always the same applies as for */-esmiṃ/* and its orthographic variants, without special mention of the same in the following.

As far as a variant */-ismiṃ/* in the termination of *a*-stems is concerned, all evidence known to me originates from manuscripts where one may assume an orthographic error for */-esmiṃ/* :

Suv. [6]XVIII. 68d (G) : *suṇmūrchito* (sic !) *tatra mahāvani 'smiṃ.*

All other manuscripts read : *mahāvane 'smiṃ.* According to Nobel the palm-leaf manuscript G is written in a very faulty Nepalese script (Intr. Suv. p. X.).

Prātimokṣasūtra of the Mahāsaṅghikas :

Last stanza 2c : *mātrajñatā ca bhukti 'smiṃ.*

Even a cursory glance on the edition of this text by W. Pachow and Ramakanta Mishra (Allahabad 1956) reveals how often the editors have misread the Maithilī script of the Manuscript. Whether the confusion between *-e* and *-i* was the mistake of the copyists or due to a mistake in reading can be found out only on the basis of the original.

However, in the manuscript of Abhisamācārikā Dharmāḥ of Bhikṣuvinaya of the Mahāsaṅghika-Lokottaravādins, which is written in the same script and has also its origin in Tibet, there are two passages which show the same confusion :

II B 4. 1 : *kin dāni upādhyāyena śrāddhavihare 'smiṃ pratipadyitavyaṃ*

II B 4. 5 : *evaṃ upādhyāyena śraddhe vihāri 'smiṃ pratipadyitavyaṃ.* (Kind information from Dr. G. Roth, Göttingen.)

The change of *-e/-i* in the Locative Singular of *a*-stems is otherwise conditioned by metre; in the position before */smiṃ/*, however, in every case an emendation to */-esmiṃ/* must be considered, taking into account the system, and by critically examining the sources cited.

It is self-evident that besides the problematic phonemic sequence */-esmiṃ/* as representing the Prākritic ending *-asmiṃ*, there also exist constructions which are as such conceived as Locative in *-e* and pronoun (*a*) *smiṃ.*

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from the pronominal paradigms of classical Sanskrit and it had spread also in the nominal inflection of *a*–stems in Middle Indic dialects; the termination *–esmiṃ* was, on the other hand, unverified, and the editors of such hybrid Sanskrit texts had now a threefold choice :

(1) Interpretation of a phonemic sequence ending in */–esmiṃ/* according to classical norms as a Locative ending in *–e* with pronoun *asmiṃ* placed after it, in Saṃdhi : *–e 'smiṃ.*

(2) Correction according to parallel forms ending in *–asmiṃ,* whereby the hybrid *–e* is rejected as a Sanskritizing mode of writing.

(3) Postulation of an otherwise unknown ending *–esmiṃ* as contamination of the locative terminations *–e* and *–asmiṃ.*

All these three assumptions have been put forward and have been made use of in a more or less consistent manner.

1. 2. The choice of one of these possibilities was not free, but was decided by the theory which was followed by each one of the editors of the so-called Buddhist Sanskrit. Various tendencies existed –from Sanskritization to hybridization with all imaginable interim solutions. The difficulty of arriving at a final decision was very much dependant on the material available. In course of time, indeed, a series of partly longer texts became known which record the various stages of development of Buddhist Sanskrit. Besides, many parallels had been traced in the text themselves or in versions in other Indic dialects. Generally speaking, however, all the Mss of one text belonged to one and the same linguistic level. But the manuscript finds from East-Turkestan e. g. parallels to the Nepalese version of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīkasūtra or the numerous recensions of the Udāna (varga), permit now a true insight into the history of the so-called "hybrid" Sanskrit texts of the Buddhist scriptures.

2. In the first editions of Buddhist Sanskrit texts[1] the difficulty in the interpretation of the final phonemic sequence */–esmiṃ/* was not at all recognized. Only the classical norm decided the break-up into the ending *–e* and the pronoun *(a)smiṃ* placed thereafter. Emile Senart opened the discussion when he pointed to the change of */–esmiṃ/* and */–asmiṃ/* in the manuscripts with the consequence that he absolutely ruled out the possibility of a pronoun following the Locative ending always deciding for an emendation towards *–asmiṃ* being the older form.[2]

2. 1. "This is a point on which I have ventured to put myself under the proof of manuscripts. They often oscillate in the end of the locative

1. For example : Lalitavistara ed. Rajendralala Mitra, Calcutta 1877.
2. Emile Senart, Le Mahāvastu. I p. XVII. Paris 1882.

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singular between *esmiṃ* and *asmiṃ*; the first form is without etymological basis; various examples of the Lalitavistara, where the *e* is separated from *smiṃ* by an avagraha, tend to show that it rests solely on an assumed Sanskrit restitution suggested by less enlightened authors: in the last syllable they have believed to recognise the pronoun *asmin* which is augmented in the locative by an *e*. Besides, the *e* of the Nepalese Devanagari (after a consonant) is only weakly distinguishable; this fact has facilitated the diffusion of the erroneous form into *esmiṃ;* I have excluded it entirely from my text.

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2. 1. 1. Such an editorial solution is in itself quite consistent but the real question, whether /*–esmiṃ*/ ever existed as a morpheme, was set aside and its answer evaded.

2. 2. Konstantin Régamey [1] also conforms to Senart's argumentation: "As for the frequent endings *esmin,* I consider them, following Senart as erroneous and awkwardly sanskritised forms. I have corrected them into *asmin* in every case."

2. 3. Johannes Nobel in his edition of the Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra[2] decided the problems according to the Tibetan parallels. He follows Senart only so far as in Tibetan a mere Locative is translated; where, however, in Tibetan there is a pronoun as well, he prefers, also for Sanskrit, an interpretation: *–e 'smiṃ.*

2. 4. Since he wrote his article "Nouns of the *a*–declension in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit"[3] Franklin Edgerton is emphatically advocating the third possibility.

2. 4. 1. His arguments for a special ending *–esmiṃ* are as follows:[4]

(1) The ending *–esmiṃ* as found in the manuscripts is much too frequent to be corrected by an emendation towards *–asmiṃ.*

(2) Although a corresponding form from other Middle Indic dialects is not known, *–esmiṃ* can be understood to be a contamination of a regular Locative ending in *–e* and a Middle Indic pronominal ending *–asmiṃ.*

(3) Numerous passages do not with regard to their contents, admit of an interpretation as Locative followed by a pronoun.

2. 4. 2. This argumentation has been adhered to, as a result, in all the purely grammatically determined presentations of Buddhist Sanskrit; for example:

1. K. Régamey, Three Chapters from the Samādhirājasūtra. Warszawa 1938, p. 17 Anm. 12.

2. Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra, ed. Johannes Nobel. Leipzig 1937 (passim)..

3. HJAS 1 (1936) p. 65–83.

4. Also compare: Franklin Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar. New Haven 1953 §§. 63-8. 73.

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2. 4. 2. 1. Herbert Günther: Grammatik des buddhistischen Mischprākrits (Buddhist Mixed Prākrit Grammar). I. Die Sprache des Mahāvastu (The Language of the Mahāvastu)[1] p. 64: "*-esmiṃ*. Obgleich diese Endung sehr häufig in den MSS vorkommt, ist sie von Senart ausgemerzt worden. Edgerton hat jedoch den Nachweis erbracht, dass eine solche Endung dem buddhistischen Mischprākrit eigen ist."[2]

2. 4. 2. 2. Ulrich Schneider: Die Deklination im Mahāvastu (Declension in the Mahāvastu)[3] p. 36: "Die Formen auf *-esmiṃ* und *-esmi* hat Senart verworfen. Er schreibt dafür jedes Mal *-asmiṃ* und *asmi*. Ich glaube nicht, dass er recht daran getan hat; jedenfalls finden sich diese Lokativenendungen mit dem etymologisch unberechtigten *-e*-auch im Saddharmapuṇḍarīka (z. B. S. 64, 6: *lokesmin*) und im Lal. Vist. (z. B. 309, 19: *dehesmi*), wo Kern und Lefmann sie nicht für zu leicht befunden haben."[4]

2. 4. 2. 3. The last presentation of this theory is found in Edgerton's magnificent Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar.[5]

Since then a Locative ending *-esmiṃ* has never been disputed,[6] it even became a chief characteristic of the so-called Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit; only the editors of critical text editions have ignored it, and not infrequently.[7]

3. 1. From among Edgerton's arguments expounded under §2. 4. 1. only the first one is to be accepted.

3. 2. The second thesis is not convincing but is merely an attempt of an etymological explanation which should meet the protest that an ending *-esmiṃ* is otherwise unknown in Middle Indic dialects.

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1. Diss. München 1939.

2. "*-esmiṃ*. Although this ending occurs very frequently in the manuscripts, it has been rejected by Senart. Edgerton, however, has provided evidence that such an ending is peculiar to Buddhist Mixed Prākrit."

3. Diss. Leipzig 1950.

4. "Senart has rejected the forms ending in *-esmiṃ* and *-esmi*. Instead of them he always writes *-asmiṃ* and *asmi*. I do not think that he was right. In any case these Locative endings with etymologically unjustifiable *-e* occur also in Saddharmapuṇḍarīka (e. g. p. 64, 6: *lokesmin*) and in the Lal. Vist. (e. g. 309, 19: *dehesmi*), where Kern and Lefmann have not found them to be too insignificant."

5. New Haven 1953 §8. 63–8. 73.

6. L. Renou: JA 241 (1953) p. 283.—M. A. Mehendale: BDCR 17 (1955/56). p. 232 and others.

7. J. Nobel (Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra); E. Waldschmidt (Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra, Mahāvadānasūtra, Catuṣpariṣatsūtra and others); W. Baruch (Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra); H. Bechert (Anavataptagāthā and Sthaviragāthā) and others. In the edition of Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra by U. Wogihara and C. Tsuchida, Tôkyô 1934 it is noteworthy that part 1 (p. 1–150) and 3 (p. 278–394) generally assume an ending *-esmiṃ*; part 2 (p. 151–286) analyses always in *-e 'smiṃ*.

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3. 3. Edgerton's attempt, to prove an ending *–esmiṃ* for Buddhist Sanskrit, rests basically on the fact that he cites few examples in which a pronoun (a)*smiṃ* following the Locative in *–e* appears to be superfluous in the context.

3. 3. 1. I cite below the entire evidence given by Edgerton[1] together with his comments thereon :

BHSG §8. 72, 73 :

SP[2] p. 114 l.13 : *tatra niveśanesmin*

("*tatra* makes pronoun *asmin* implausible").

Suv.[3] p. 226 l. 11 : *mahāvanavaresmin*

("Nobel reads °*vare 'smin*, but the pronoun is implausible").

Suv. p. 236 l. 6 : *tatra mahāvanesmin*

("Nobel *ne 'smin*").

Śikṣ[4] p. 46 l. 9 : *grāmesmin*

("Bendall interprets as *grāme' smin* 'in you village' which seems to me nonsense in the context; occurs in a passage giving purely general vows of Bodhisattvas").

Śikṣ p. 345 l. 14 : *gaganesmin*

("pronoun *(a)smin* quite impossible").

KP[5] p. 38 l. 5 : *lokesmi*

("printed *loke smi*, but *(a)smi(n)* is scarcely possible here, and is certainly not represented in Tibetan"[6]).

HJAS I p. 75 :

LV[7] p. 80 l. 9 : *ekarathavaresmin*

p. 81 l. 3 : *gagaṇesmin*

p. 153 l. 10 : *kṣitītalesmin*

p. 194 l. 15 : *dharaṇītalesmiṁ*

("...it is implausible, if not impossible, to assume a pronoun *asmin*").

3. 3. 2. The stringency of his argumentation is evident from expressions like "...implausible...seems to me...scarcely possible..." and the like. None of the examples cited by Edgerton is so that it were also not liable to be interpreted as a Locative ending in *–e* with the pronoun *(a)smin* following; it is

1. Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar (BHSG). New Haven 1953, HJAS I (1936).
2. Saddharmapuṇḍarīka ed. Kern, Nanjio. St. Petersburg 1912.
3. Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra, ed. Nobel. Leipzig 1937.
4. Śikṣāsamuccaya, ed. Bendall. St. Petersburg 1897–1902.
5. Kāśyapa Parivarta, ed. Staël-Holstein. Shanghai. 1926.
6. Comp. § 5. 12. 1 and 2.
7. Lalitavistara ed. Lefmann. Halle 1902.

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syntactically quite possible that a pronominal local adverb like *tatra* is again taken up by a nominal Locative with a determining pronoun.

3. 3. 3. Such examples are, however, sufficient for Edgerton to make him cite without hesitation also all other instances which show the phonemic sequence */–esmiṃ/* after a stem of the *a–* declension, as additional evidence for his new ending. It must be emphasized that these semantically neutral passages, even in the purview of this argumentation, however, are not convincing. These have been cited analogically in favour of his thesis, and are supposed to support the few really relevant examples through their arithmetical numbers.

4. Edgerton's reasoning moves exclusively on the semantic level; only the *possible* meaning of an expression leads him to postulate a new ending.

4. 1. There are, however, examples which certainly require, on formal analytical grounds of a structural comparison and quite independent of semantic uncertainties, an interpretation with following pronoun :

Uv. XIV. 1d : *loke(')smiṃś ca paratra ca.*

A comparison with the passage :

Uv. IV. 35d : *hy asmiṃ loke paratra ca*

enforces a segmentation in : *loke / smiṃś.*

Uv. XXVII. 41. c–d : *tasmiṃ sati hānupaśyanā*
vigate'smiṃ vigatānupaśyanā.

It is evident from the chiastic parallelity of the constructions that *'smiṃ* as correlative to *tasmiṃ* is to be separated from the Locative *vigate* which corresponds to *sati.*

5. I should like to give below further reasons which will show how */–esmiṃ/* which has developed from the pronominal ending *–asmiṃ,* is to be analysed.

5. 1. The Central Asian manuscripts of Udāna (varga) (Uv.) are as such unique source material for the study of the genesis of a Buddhist Sanskrit text. Firstly because the manuscripts of various origins offer also different versions of the text; secondly and above all, because these different versions record various stages of Sanskritization of an original Prākrit text. Especially favourable in this case is the situation that with Udāna (varga), apart from the Tibetan (and Chinese) translations, also the Pāli parallels in Dhammapada (Dhp.) and large sections of a Prākrit version, the so-called Gāndhārī Dharmapada (G. Dhp.), are known.

5. 2. From the parallels of Dhammapada and Gāndhārī Dharmapada it becomes evident that the oldest Udāna (varga) manuscripts (P. H. Ms. and

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EU) have maintained without exception the pronominal ending *–asmiṃ* of the original text or replaced it mechanically by *–e 'smiṃ :*

Uv. XVIII. 12b (P. H. Ms.) : *u(j)jh(i)tasmi////*
Dhp. 58b : *ujjhitasmiṃ mahāpathe*
G. Dhp. XVIII. 14b: *ujjidasa mahapathe*
Uv. XVIII. 12a : (P. H. Ms.) : *yath(ā) sa(ṅ)kārakūṭasm(iṃ)*
G. Dhp. XVIII. 14a : *yadha sagara 'uḍasa*
Uv. XX. 1c (P.H.Ms.) : *(taṃ nāmarūpa)smin asajjamānam*
Dhp. 221c : *taṃ nāmarūpasmiṃ asajjamānaṃ*
G. Dhp. XVII. 1c : *ta namaruvasa aṣajamaṇa*
Uv. XXVIII. 23d (EU) : *pāpe 'smiṃ ra(mate manaḥ)*
Dhp. 116d : *pāpasmiṃ ramatī mano.*

5. 3. In the Udāna (varga) manuscripts of the more recent tradition a nominal ending *–asmiṃ* is totally absent; only constructions substituting *–e 'smiṃ* have been preserved sporadically, for example :

Uv. XII. 3a (AB. BI) : *śreṣṭhā hi prajñā loke 'smiṃ*
Uv. XII. 3a (P. H. Ms) : *prajñā [hi] śreṣṭhā lo[ke] ('smiṃ)*
Itiv. 41. 2a : *paññā hi seṭṭhā lokasmiṃ*
Uv. XIV. 5c (P. St., EK) : *saṃghe hi bhidyamāne 'smiṃ*
Vin. I : X. 3. 1 : *saṃghasmiṃ bhijjamānasmiṃ*
Uv. XXVIII. 13c (AB) : *paṇḍito jīvaloke 'smiṃ*
Ud. V. 3c : *paṇḍito jīvalokasmiṃ*

5. 4. In general, however, the following pronoun *(asmiṃ)* has been already replaced by a metrically equivalent patchword ("Flickwort, Hilfswort") or a modified construction :

5. 4. 1. Replacement of the pronoun by a patchword :

Uv. V. 22c : *puṇyāni paraloke hi*
SN p. 72 1. 21 : *puññāni paralokasmiṃ*
Uv. XVIII. 12a : *yathā saṃkārakūṭe tu*
Uv. XVIII. 12a (P. H. Ms) : *yath(ā) sa(ṅ)kārakūṭasm(iṃ)*
G. Dhp. XVIII. 14a : *yadha sagara' uḍasa*
Uv. XVIII. 12b : *vyujjhite hi mahāpathe*
Uv. XVIII. 12a (P. H. Ms) : *u(j)jh(i)tasmi////*
Dhp. 58b : *ujjhitasmiṃ mahāpathe*
G. Dhp. XVIII. 14b : *ujjidasa mahapathe*
Uv. XX. 1c : *taṃ nāmne rūpe ca asajyamānam*
Uv. XX. 1c (P. H. Ms.) : *(taṃ nāmarūpa)smin asajjamānam*
Dhp. 221c : *taṃ nāmarupasmiṃ asajjamānaṃ*
G. Dhp. XVII. 1c : *ta namaruvasa aṣajamaṇa*

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5. 4. 2. Replacement of the pronoun by change of the construction :

Uv. XXVIII. 23d :	*pāpeṣu ramate manaḥ*
Uv. XVIII. 23d : (EU) :	*pāpe 'smiṃ ra(mate manaḥ)*
Dhp. 116d :	*pāpasmiṃ ramatī mano*
Uv. XXI. 3c :	*sadevakeṣu lokeṣu*
Mv. III. p. 326 l. 16 (M) :	*sadevakasmiṃ lokasmiṃ* (M : *loke 'smiṃ*)
MN I p. 171 l.8 :	*sadevakasmiṃ lokasmiṃ*
Uv. XIII. 9, 10. 11b :	*chrāmaṇyārtheṣu avekṣavān*
Uv. XIII. 10b (DF) :	*chrāmaṇye 'sminn avekṣavān*
Tha. 229, 230, 228b :	*sāmaññasmiṃ apekkhavā*

5. 5. But also for other texts different stages in the process of Sanskritization are recorded in the variant of the manuscripts; for example :

Suv. XIV. 7a (B, D' E) :	*tatra ca stūpamadhye 'sau*
Suv. XIV. 7a (A, H) :	*tatra ca stūpamadhye 'smin*
Suv. XIV. 7a (C, F) :	*tatra ca stūpamadhyasmin.*

5. 6. From a formalistic comparative analysis of such examples, it becomes evident as to how *(a)smiṃ,* as an independent product of Sanskritization, was freely replaceable and that an ending *–esmiṃ* never existed.

5. 7. Constructions substituting *–e 'smiṃ* are superficial Sanskritizations of a pronominal ending *–asmiṃ* which, just mechanically, influenced the conversion to *–e 'smiṃ.* These are, as far as the pronoun could not take over any semantic function, unstable constructions which again vanish in the process of further linguistic harmonization. They are possible only when a Prakritic ending *–asmiṃ* is to be Sanskritized. As soon as, however, a so-called *e 'smiṃ* construction itself furnishes the basis for a further revision, this construction which owes its existence only to its relation to an ending *–asmiṃ,* will certainly be linguistically harmonized.

5. 8. This finding is in agreement with the fact that in all other Middle Indic dialects[1] a Locative ending *–esmiṃ* is totally absent and that successors of such a formation cannot be proved.

5. 9. In the auxiliary construction *–e 'smiṃ* the pronoun has merely the function of a patchword[2] inserted for metrical reasons which replaces a pronominal termination *–asmiṃ.*

1. I shall come back, at a different place, to the interpretation of the Sinhalese Locative ending *-ehi* (D. J. Wijayaratne : History of the Sinhalese Noun. Colombo 1956 p. 109 f.)

2. Compare the metric patchwords : *ca, tu, hi* and others in Buddhist Sanskrit (§ 5. 4. 1.).

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5. 9. 1. It is, therefore, methodically inadmissible to interpret these constructions only with semantic arguments as they have originated from mechanical translation techniques.

5. 9. 2. Even constructions like :

SP XI. 30b (Gilgit Ms.) : *tasmin kale 'smi bhikṣuṇāṃ*[1]
SP XII. 12b (Gilgit Ms.) : *tasmin kale 'smi durmatī*[2]
can be understood as merely substituting :
SP XI. 30b (Ac, R) : *tasmin kālasmi bhikṣuṇāṃ*
SP XII. 12b : *tasmin kālasmi durmatī*

5. 9. 3. Since Edgerton, in many passages, considers a pronoun superfluous in its full semantic function which it possesses in the classical language, he completely denies its existence in such examples and adds the pronoun to the preceding case ending, as if a Sanskritization of the ending *–asmiṃ* could lead to a termination *–esmiṃ* which is without any analogy in classical paradigms, while *–asmiṃ* is, nevertheless, supported by pronominal paradigms. While he claims the classical function of a word also in "Hybrid" Sanskrit he produces, thereby, a new, really hybrid ending. Edgerton assumes that the Sanskritization of an ending which is inherent in the system but is analogically spread out, could lead to a formation which is more non-Sanskrit than its original.

5. 10. It is noteworthy[2]—and this fact very much conforms to our theory—that the auxiliary construction *–e 'smiṃ,* as substitute for a Prākritic word termination *–asmiṃ* i.e. in the passages where the manuscripts vary in *–asmiṃ* and *–e 'smiṃ* or for which according to Middle Indic parallels the ending *–asmiṃ* can be presumed for the original, can be proved for metric passages only. In prose texts nominal stems of the *a*–declension form their Locative Singular exclusively in *–e*.

5. 11. The only exception seems to be the "prose" of Mahāvastu which contains some examples of the Locative ending in *–asmiṃ* and *–e 'smiṃ*. But at least for some of these apparent exceptions the metrical character can certainly be proved, for example :

Mv. I p. 4. 1. 9–11 : *yāme ca paścime 'smiṃ*
yaṃ jñeyaṃ puruṣadamyāsarathinā
sarvan tam ekakṣaṇe
svayambhūsamatāṃ samanubudhye ||

1. W. Baruch : Beiträge zum Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra (Contributions to Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra.).
2. Ibidem. p. 25.

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where also the following colophon points to the metrical character :

iti śrīmahāvastunidānagāthā samāptā ||

The metre is disturbed in the sentence preceding this stanza.

Compare also : Mv. I. p. 193 l. 8–9; p. 365 l. 4–5; II. p. 172 l. 8–9; p. 462 l. 17–19; III. p. 184 l. 7–8.

5. 12. For the assertion that Edgerton's 'ending' *–esmiṃ* is rather to be analysed as *–e 'smiṃ,* the close and strongly pattern oriented Tibetan translations are an important evidence; as therein the post-positional pronoun *(a)smiṃ* has its accurate Tibetan parallel. In any case the Tibetan translators did not know of a Sanskrit ending *–esmiṃ :* for example :

Uv. XXVIII. 13c :	*paṇḍito jīvaloke 'smiṃ*
Tib. Uv. XXVIII. 13c :	*mkhas pas ḥćho baḥi ḥjig ḥdir*
Ud. V. 3c :	*paṇḍito jīvalokasmiṃ*
Uv. XIV. 5c :	*saṃghe hi bhidyamāne 'smiṃ*
Tib. Uv. XIV. 5c :	*ḥdi na*[1] *dge ḥdun ḥbyed pahi ćhe*
Vin. I : X. 3. 1 :	*saṃghasmiṃ bhijjamānasmiṃ*
Suv. XIV. 64a, 68a, 75a :	*sarvatra jambudvīpe 'smiṃ*
Tib. Suv. XIV. 63d, 68a :	*ḥĵam buḥi gliṅ ḥdi thams cad na*
Tib. Suv. XIV. 75a :	*ḥĵam buḥi gliṅ ḥdi thams cad du*
Suv. XVIII. 42d :	*śokaṃ praviṣṭa hṛdaye 'smin*
Tib. Suv. XVIII. 42d :	*mya ṅan sñiṅ ḥdir rab to źugs*
Suv. XII. 3a :	*vajrākaragirīndre 'smin*
Tib. Suv. XII. 3a :	*rdo rjeḥi ḥbyuṅ gnas ri dbaṅ ḥdir*
Suv. XVIII. 49b :	*śokapavanaḥ prayāti viṣaye 'smin*
Tib. Suv. XVIII. 49b :	*yul ḥdir mya ṅan mi bzad rluṅ*

5. 12. 1. If, however, in few passages, a mere Locative without pronoun of the Tibetan translation corresponds to an *–e 'smiṃ* construction in Sanskrit, then this should rather point to a different Sanskrit original with *–asmiṃ* and does not provide an argument for the existence of an 'ending' *–esmiṃ.*

The conclusiveness of the examples, in which the pronoun is also translated, is, on the other hand, always convincing.

5. 12. 2. It is known that the Buddhist Sanskrit texts as transmitted are in no way completely harmonized linguistically. All available manuscripts are documents from the process of Sanskritization which was not yet over. As such it is to be assumed that also in the Sanskrit texts which the Tibetan translators had before them, Sanskritized *–e 'smiṃ* constructions occurred alternatingly beside Prākrit *–asmiṃ* endings. And these patterns were then also quite faithfully transferred into Tibetan; for example :

1. So according to manuscripts. Beckh corrects to : *ni.*

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Tib. Suv. XII. 59c :	*yul du śin tu mi bzad paḥi*
Suv. XII. 59d :	*viṣayasmin sudāruṇā*
	The manuscripts A, B, E have, on the other hand, already Sanskritized to :
	viṣaye 'smin sudāruṇā
SP XIV. 38b (Tm)[1] :	*[byaṅ chub du ste] ṅaḥi źiṅ la gnas*
SP XIV. 38b (Tx)[2] :	*[yoṅs su smin byas] ṅa yi źiṅ na ḥkhod*
SP XIV. 38b :	*mamaiva kṣetrasmi vasanti caite*
	The Kawaguchi manuscript has Sanskritized to :
	mamaiva kṣetre 'smi vasanti cete (sic !)

5. 13. Even the editors and copyists of these Buddhist Sanskrit texts appear, incidentally, to have held it necessary to elucidate the so-called *–e 'smiṃ* construction and put it down as Sanskritic against the similar Prākrit ending *–asmiṃ,* and thereby they avoided the abhinihita–Saṃdhi by insertion of a hiat–bridging consonant : for example :

Suv. XIV. 75a (C) :	*sarvatra jambudvīpe–r asmin*

Compare the Vulgata version :

Suv. XIV. 75a :	*sarvatra jambudvīpe 'smin.*

It is to be assumed that such a spelling which disturbs the metre, should only help to facilitate grammatical analysis and remained, therefore, unconsidered for recitation.

Perhaps the construction of Mv. I p. 4 1. 8 is also to be understood in a similar way where all the manuscripts uniformly read :

Mv. I p. 1. 8 :	*yāme madhyame–k asmiṃ*[3]

6. This exposition must have sufficiently proved :

(1) The so-called *–e 'smiṃ* construction is the mechanical Sanskritization of a Prākrit ending *–asmiṃ* terminating nominal *a*–stems.

(2) This auxiliary construction is to be analysed as classical Locative Singular of *a*–declension with pronoun *(a)smiṃ* placed thereafter.

(3) The pronoun has thereby the sole function of a metrical patchword without any semantic value.

6. 1. This is proved by :

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1. Tibetan manuscript from Khotan, see Nils Simonsson, Indo–Tibetan Studies I, p. 95.
2. Kanjur block printing from the Hedin collection, Stockholm, see ibidem p. 95.
3. Edgerton (BHSG § 8. 72) suggests emendation to : *madhyamakesmiṃ.*

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(1) The structural comparison of constructions.

(2) The Tibetan translations.

(3) Formally unambiguous spellings with hiat-bridging Saṃdhi consonants.

6. 2. An ending *-esmiṃ* must, therefore, be struck out from a Buddhist Sanskrit grammar.

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ARCHAISMS IN SOME MODERN NORTHWESTERN INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES*

BY

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[*Sections 1 and 2 of this article were first published in a slightly different form, in German, in 'Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung' vol. 77, 1961, pp. 235–245. The introduction, the appendix and references to recent literature have now been added.]

0. 1. The recent Census of India (1961) provides some information about the speakers of the Dardic languages on Indian territory (pp. CCIIf., quoted from B. Kachru, 1969, p. 287). The number of these Dardic speakers is exceedingly small (e. g. three persons for the 'Khowar group' !). The Census Report makes it clear, however, that "the Kafir and Khowar groups of speakers have their main concentration outside the Indian territory" (ibid). The Dardic language area, indeed, involves three countries : Afghanistan, West Pakistan and the northern part of India. In the preface of his Comparative dictionary of the Indo-aryan languages Sir Ralph Turner writes the following about these languages (p. VIII) : "The Kafiri and Dardic groups of languages, even if politically of little import, are linguistically of great interest." Turner's dictionary, which has been appearing in fascicules since 1962 and which is certainly the most outstanding work in the field of Indo-aryan comparative studies, includes words from the widest range of Indo-aryan languages spoken in India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Ceylon and among Gypsies. It is in this comprehensive sense, that the term 'northwestern Indo-aryan' will be used in this paper.

0. 2. In the highly-respected series "Current trends in linguistics" Braj B. Kachru recently attempted in an article to show the present state of research in "Kashmiri and other Dardic languages" to the general reader (Kachru 1969, 284ff.). While the author has some useful information to provide on his mother-tongue, Kashmiri, which whets one's appetite for further pertinent contributions from his pen, he displays little competence for the "other Dardic languages". It is obvious from his numerous errors and contradictions that he has either not read or not understood a great part of the literature quoted in his bibliography. The necessary corrections of the many mistakes will be published soon elswhere, so that I need not go into details here. Kachru finds that with reference to these languages "historical questions are being debated on very fragmentary evidence" (p. 300) or "without much authentic linguistic evidence" (p. 286). In view of what has just been said about his competence, scholars who have worked in this field need not be worried by such unjustified statements. In the same volume of the "Current trends"

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Gordon H. Fairbanks (1969, 41) has done justice to Prof. G. Morgenstierne's outstanding work with the Northwest languages.

I agree with Kachru, however, in principle, that more detailed descriptions of these languages and particularly more information about their syntax is urgently wanted, especially because some of them are in immediate danger of extinction. In recent years new extensive field-work has been done on some of these languages and dialects. The results will be published within the next few years. It is possible that new descriptive material may add or correct this or that point in our picture of the genetic and historical affiliations of Dardic and Kafiri, but it is hardly to be expected that the whole picture will be completely changed.

More detailed synchronic and structural studies, as Kachru rightly demands, will certainly be of interest to the expert, but probably to the expert alone or to those concerned in a broader sense with 'South Asian areal linguistics'. Other scholars, who have specialised in other aspects of the vast field of Indology, may be interested in what can at present be known about the historical relations of northwestern Indo-aryan. It is mainly scholars such as these and not structural linguists that my present paper is intended for.

I have chosen the topic of 'archaisms'. Here this term is not to be understood in the sense of 'obsolete within the present synchronic level of a given language' (with the exception, perhaps, of section 2. 2.). 'Archaism' here amounts to 'survivals of dialect peculiarities of the Vedic language or a dialect closely akin to it'.

In the first part an alleged archaism in modern Kashmiri will be examined in some detail, for methodical reasons. Then, in the second part some examples of what can be considered genuine archaisms will be given. In this part I take as my basis printed sources as well as not yet published results of 3 field-work tours of my own in the Hindukush (1955/56; 1969; 1970 in Prasun, Wama, Waigal, Gambir).

1. 0. In the Swiss periodical 'Cahiers Ferdinand de Saussure' Henri Frei published an article in French entitled "Véda et Cachemire" ("Veda and Kashmir") in which he endeavours, with his usual learning and acumen, to prove the following hypothesis (Frei 1960, 47ff.) : The OIA. formations of the type *pratīpám* "against the stream", *anvīpám* "along the stream" etc. are compounds with a word **īpa–* as their second members. This **īpa–* is said to be a nominal derivation of a reduplicated verb stem **Hi–Hp* of a root **Hep–/Hp–*from which e. g. Sk. *āp–* "water" is formed. **īpa–* is nowhere attested to in Sk. or Pk. literature, but is said to survive in the word *yūp"* "flood" of modern Kashmiri (K.) and also in the Greek *Euripos*. Frei repeated this theory in a subsequent

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article (Frei 1962, 91). If he were right, a striking archaism would have survived in K. It may therefore be worthwhile examining the evidence which can be adduced for the existence of **īpa–* in Sk. and K. It is not necessary to discuss the Greek *Euripos* here.

1. 1. Usually OIA. *pratīpám* "against the stream", *dvīpa–* "island" etc. are analyzed as compounds of *prati, dvi–* and **–Hp* (the replacive weak grade morpheme of *āp–*"water"). From such forms, where *–īpa–* (<**iHpa*) is historically justified, it was transferred by analogy to words like *anv–īpám* "along the stream", *sam–īpa–* "nearness" (cf. Wackernagel, Ai. Gr. II, 1, p. 100). This explanation seems to have been accepted by most scholars (e. g. Mayrhofer EWA; Minard, Trois énigmes II, § 663a) and, I think, rightly so. Frei, however, rejects it. He says, as *pratīpám* and *anvīpám* are used side by side in the later Veda, one cannot know which has been influenced by which in its formation. He therefore prefers to regard both as inherited compounds with **īpa–*. In reality, we are not groping so much in the dark. Firstly, *pratīpám* has been attested to at an earlier date, as it is to be found in the RV. Perhaps it belongs even to the Indo–Iranian period, if Bartholomae's interpretation *paitipa–* in Yasht 5. 81 of the Avesta is accepted (Altiranisches Wörterbuch 831).

Secondly, there is, also in the RV., the word *anūpá–*<**anu–Hp–*, which strongly recommends deriving *pratīpá–*<**prati–Hp–*. Frei objects, saying that *anūpá–*and *pratīpá–* are never used in juxtaposition to each other. This is really the point, and certainly not an argument in favour of Frei. It is well known that the archaic Vedic prose has a predilection for symmetrical sentence patterns often bound together by rhyming portions (cf. e. g. H. Oldenberg 1917, pp. 5, 31, 43). It is in such sentences that *anvīpám* occurs first.

Taittirīya-Saṃhitā 6. 4. 2. 2 :

yád anvīpám tíṣṭhan grhṇīyā́t.....
pratīpám tíṣṭhan grhṇāti.....

Maitrāyani-Saṃhitā 4. 4. 1 :

pratīpám anyá ūrmír yádhyaty
anvīpám anyá (ūrmir yádhyati)
yát tásya grhṇā́ti yáḥ pratīpám yúdhyati.....
átha yát tásya grhṇā́ti yó 'nvīpám īráyati.....

The two words added in brackets are found in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini 1. 4. 9. who quotes the passage in this form, thus completing the rhyme.

Pañcaviṃśa–Brāhmaṇa 25. 10. 12 :

pratīpaṃ yanti na hy anvīpam

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According to the *Vaidika-padānukrama-koṣa,* there is only one passage where *anvīpam* is not used side by side with *pratīpam;* this has been replaced by roughly synonymous *pratyaṅ.*

Kap. K. S. 44. 1 = Kāṭh. 28. 1 :

pratyaṅṅ āsīno 'vanayati
anvīpam evainā avārjati

This character of the early passages with *anvīpam* can hardly be due to a mere chance. The assumption that *anvīpam* was formed to rhyme with *pratīpam* is thus very probable indeed, especially as *anūpa-* had gone its own way semantically. One may quote Pāṇini 6. 3. 98 here : *ūd-anor-deśe* "after *anu ū* [is substituted for the *a* of *ap*] in [a word with the meaning of] locality". The Kāśikā remarks on this : *anupo deśaḥ / deśa iti kim / anvīpam /* " (question :) why [does Pāṇini add the expression] *deśe ?* (answer :) [because there is the word] *anvīpam* [which is not used in the meaning of locality]."

1. 2. Frei uses still another argument in support of the alleged **īpa-* : the testimony of the *padapāṭha* of the RV. This is, however, not acceptable. As we know, even Yāska did not regard the *padapāṭha* as an infallable authority (cf. P. Thieme 1941, p. 83f.). With all due respect and admiration for Śākalya's work, he cannot be an informant of a modern linguist for the historical analysis of a compound. When the *padapāṭha* analyzes *pratīpam* into *prati-īpam* but does not split *dvīpa-* etc., so he did this most probably because he thought of the antipode *anv-īpa.* From a strictly synchronic point of view, Śākalya is right. But it would be quite wrong to infer from his segmentation *prati-īpam* that the 'morpheme' *īpam* was a 'free morpheme' i. e. could be used as an independent word.

1. 3. Still less acceptable is another witness whom Frei quotes in support of **īpa* : AV. 20. 129. 2. In Whitney's edition (cf. the parallels in Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa 6. 33. 2. Śāṅkhāyana-Śrauta-Sūtra 12. 18. 1 and Scheftelowitz, Apokryphen des Ṛgveda pp. 159, 161) the text runs :

etā́ áśvā ā́ plavante pratīpám prātisutvanám

Pratīpa probably here is a proper name and the following translation may be suggested : "These mares swim towards Pratīpa, towards Sutvan (or : Satvan)". But the interpretation of this stanza need not concern us here. Now, part of the manuscripts of the AV. (not the parallel versions) has a double accent on the word under discussion : *prátīpam.* This is a mistake, of course, and has been silently corrected by Whitney. Frei, however, wants to include this mistake in a 'grammaire des fautes' ('grammar of errors') as it seems meaningful to him. The scribes must have had a word **īpa-* in mind, which consequently existed in their language. Now we can even see its

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accent, namely *-ī́pa-*! Frei did not mention, however, that also *prātisutvanám* is a form corrected by Whitney in his edition. The manuscripts have a double accent here, too: *prā́tisutvánam* ! No historical conclusions whatsoever should be drawn from such aberrant writings, which are hardly more than simple scribal blunders.

1. 4. 1. We may conclude that the existence of **ipa-* in Sk. is, to say the least, very improbable. But we would, of course, have to put up with it if the word could be proved to survive in a NIA. language. Frei's attempt, however, to connect **īpa-* with K. *yūp* " is spurious, even if we were prepared to accept the change of meaning *"stream">"flood".

1. 4. 2. There can be no doubt that OIA* intervocalic *-p-* (as all stops in this position except the retroflexes) was retained neither in K. nor in any other NIA. language. In K. OIA. *-p-*was lost or replaced by *w (v).* The details, where zero or *w (v)* is the reflex of older *-p-* need not be discussed now. Examples for this regular development of OIA. *-p-* are numerous. A few may be chosen at random. As I am not concerned here with a synchronic phonemic analysis, Kashmiri words will not be quoted in phonemic transciption, but in the transliterated traditional orthography used in Grierson's Kashmiri dictionary:

K. *zuw*" "island" : Sk. *dvīpa-*; K. *lōh* "fox' : Sk. *lopāśa-*; K. *sŏn* "co-wife" : Sk. *sapatnī-*; K. *gŏbur* "boy" : Sk. *garbharūpa-*; K. *khŏn* "upper part of forearm" : Sk. *kaphoṇi-* "elbow" ; K. *sāwun* "to put to sleep" : Sk. *svāpayati* ; K. *akawanzāh* "51" : Sk. *ekapañcāśat-* etc. etc.

Frei, without considering such examples, bases his statement that OIA. *-p-* survives in K., on Grierson's authority. In Grierson's opinion, the modern 'Piśāca'-languages of northwestern Indo-aryan are the offspring of the ancient MIA. Paiśācī Prakrit. In support of this hypothesis he believed he had detected sporadic "survival of intervocalic tenues" (ZDMG 66, 1912, p. 79) in the modern northwestern vernaculars. This theory of the great scholar, to whom Indology will always be greatly indebted, rests on a number of wrong or doubtful etymologies and should no longer be repeated. The question, in which part of India Paiśācī Prakrit was spoken, cannot be answered with absolute certainty (e. g. see Sten Konow, AO 19. pp. 146ff.). But we can safely maintain that there is no retention of simple intervocalic stops in K. The examples which Grierson, followed by Frei, quotes in order to show that OIA. *-p-* remained unchanged in K., have to be explained in a different way, as has long been known. K. *rŏph* (dative *rŏpas*) "silver" is not from Sk. *rūpa-*, but as Hindi *rūp(ā)* etc. from Pk. *ruppa-*<Sk. *rūpya-*; K. *tāp* "heat" is like Hindi etc. *tāp* a loan-word (*tatsama*) from Sk. *tāpa-*, the *tadbhāva* being K. *tāv* (cf. K. *satāwun* "to worry"<Sk. *saṃtāpayati*). Finally, if K. *hāputh*

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dative *hāpatas* "bear" is to be connected with Sk. *śvāpada–* which seems to be the case, then the word is an *ardha–tatsama,* i. e. it has been crossed with a loan-word from Sk. Words of this type are by no means rare in K. As another example K. *hath* "100" may be quoted with regular Sk. *ś–*>K. *h–*, but *–t–* retained under the influence of Sk. *śatam* (K. *t*>*th* in final position); similarly K. *namath* "90" etc.

1. 4. 3. The vocalism in K. *yūpᵘ* is a little more complicated. The word belongs to a structural class with stem-vowel alternation. Historically, the so-called mātrā-vowelᵘ (a very short vowel now inaudible in some dialects, e. g. that of Srīnagar), generally to be derived from Sk. *–aka,* has caused an umlaut of the vowel in the preceding syllable. *yū* may the umlaut of either *e* or *ī*. The 'original' vowel not affected by an umlaut is retained in the ablative case in this class (the second declension). This may be seen from the following contrasts (cf. Grierson 1911, p. 29; 1920, pp. 132ff; Morgenstierne, 1943, p. 25):

(a) K. *nyūlᵘ* "blue" dative *nīlis* ablativ *nīli*

(b) K. *ċyūnᵘ* "pillar" dative *ċīnis* ablative *ċēni*

The vowel relevant for the etymology is thus to be found in the ablative : K. *nyūlᵘ*<**nīlᵘ* (cf. Sk. *nīla–*) : K. *cyūnᵘ*<**cēnᵘ*<MIA. **cena*<Sk. *cayana–*"piling up".

Now, as to K. *yupᵘ*, the ablative is not listed in Grierson's dictionary, only the dative *yīpis,* where *ī* is etymologically as ambiguous as *yū* in the nominative, because it may be from older *ī* or *ē*. But there is another word for "flood" in K. which looks very similar to the word under discussion : K. *vyūpᵘ*. For this the ablative *vēpi* is given. I presume that *vyūpᵘ*/*yūpᵘ* are variants of the same word.

1. 4. 4. The correct etymology of K. *(v)yūpᵘ* thus has to start from the form **vēpᵘ*. Now, in Grierson's dictionary this word has been glossed by Kashmiri pandits as Sk. *udīpaḥ* "flood". There can be no doubt that both are etymologically related. We have to start from **udīpya(ka)–* which in later MIA. regularly gave **vippa–*. MIA. *i* before two consonants became K. *ē* or *e,* as may be seen from the following examples :

Sk. *bhikṣate,* pali *bhikkhati* : K. *bēchun* (past participle *byūchᵘ*) "to beg" ;

Sk. *miṣṭa–* : K *myūṭhᵘ*, ablative *mēṭhi* "sweet" (not, with Frei, to be connected with Sk. (ved.) *mīḍam*) ;

Sk. *śikṣate* : K. *hĕchun* "to learn" etc. etc.

1. 4. 5. The same etymology K. *vyūpᵘ*<**udīpya–*was proposed independently by Turner (T. 1938a). But he wants to separate K. *yūpᵘ* and derive this from Sk. *abhiplava–* (T. 521), which is, however, not found with the

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meaning "flood". It is hardly necessary to separate K. *vyūp"* and *yūp"*. We find the same variation *vy–* : *y–* in Grierson's dictionary also in K. *vyāpun/yāpun* "to reach", a loan-word from Sk. *vyāp–*. Only on–the–spot inquiries and field-work can help us to decide whether the variants *vy–/y–* are due to mere inconsistencies of the orthography or to a phonetic simplification of the initial cluster or to dialect diversity.

1. 4. 6. Sk. *udīpa–* "flood" has hitherto only been found in one text: Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī, where it occurs several times (see H. Frei. 1962, p. 91). In verse 5. 270 of that work a scribe has glossed Sk. *udīpa–* as K. *'yyopo'* (see Stein's edition with note), thus also demonstrating the close relation of the two forms. *udīpa–* is not the only word of Kashmiri Sanskrit to survive only in one of the modern languages of northwestern Indo–aryan. As another example I may mention Sk. *uṭṭīkita–* "jumping" quoted in the addenda of the smaller Petersburg dictionary, in R. Schmitt's 'Nachträge' and in the 'additions and corrections' of Monier–Williams' Sanskrit-English Dictionary again only from the Rājataraṅgiṇī (8. 715 *uṭṭīkitair gavām* "when the cows jump up"). This word survives in Phal. *uṭik–um* "I jump" and in closely related Sāwī *uṭik* "jump", *ma uṭik dānu* "I jump", literally "I give a jump" (cf. Morgenstierne, 1947, p. 28 and Buddruss, 1967, pp. 82, 92). These modern words go back to an older form with the suffix *–kk–*, and should be added under T. 1683 as they are closer to the Sk. form than Hindi *uṭaknā* "to jump, skip" cited by Turner. A more exact investigation of the peculiarities of Kashmiri Sanskrit in comparison with the modern languages and dialects spoken in Kashmir and adjacent areas would probably yield interesting results.

2. 0. It has been shown that Frei's view (Frei 1960, p. 32) that K. *yūp"* "s' ajoute à la modeste, mais précieuse liste des mots védiques, qui ne se retrouvent, à date moderne, que dans les parlers du nord–ouest (K. *yūp"* is added to the modest, but precious list of Vedic words, which are to be found in modern times only in the languages of the Northwest)" is untenable. The whole idea, however, need not be discarded. There are indeed a few archaisms, i. e. dialect peculiarities of the Vedic language, still traceable in modern times. This is particularly true of the so-called Dardic and Kafir languages of the Hindukush, which have no written literatures, but are known only through field-work of the 19th. and 20th. centuries.

Some brief remarks about the genetic relations and differences of Dardic and Kafiri may not be out of place here, especially as Kachru in his article (quoted in section 0. 2 of this paper) is more likely to confuse than to make clear the problem. He quotes a number of scholars with conflicting opinions,

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as if this question could be settled by a majority vote without giving proper weight to the reasons and arguments, if any, adduced in support of a particular view. The clearest and most convincing arguments have been given by G. Morgenstierne (e. g. NTS 13, 1945, pp. 225ff.), which may be summed up as follows :

The Dardic languages (Shina, Khowar, Pashai, Phalūṛa, Torwali, Woṭapuri etc.) are without any doubt Indo-aryan languages. All details of their historical phonology can be derived from OIA. In their retention of OIA. sounds and consonant clusters some of them are very 'conservative' as compared with the great NIA. languages of the plains. As an illustrative example the word for "tear" may be given, which in Sk. is *aśru–*. in Khowar *aśrū* (phonetically almost identical with Sk.), but in Hindi, for example, *ãsu*. A more detailed list has been published in India in Morgenstierne's article 'Sanskritic words in Khowar' (1957).

On the other hand, there is the so-called Kafir-group (the main languages, each with many sub-dialects, are Prasun, Kati, Waigali, Ashkun and, in a special position, Dameli). The speakers of these languages, before their conversion to Islam in 1896, were called 'Kafirs' ('unbelievers') by their Muslim neighbours. Now the term 'Kafir languages' has come to be used without any religious connotation merely as a linguistic identification label. Recently the name 'Nuristani languages' has been proposed instead, which avoids religious complications, but is unfortunately linguistically less unambiguous, as there are some languages spoken in the modern administrative area of Nuristan which do not belong to the 'Kafir' group.

The 'Kafir' languages occupy a position apart from Dardic and differ in some respects. The most important point is that at least two features of their historical phonology can hardly be derived from OIA. :

(a) IE. *k̂* is represented by *ċ* (Prasun > *z*) in Kafiri, but by *ś* in Sk. and Dardic (in some languages *ś* > *s*) : e. g. Kt. *duċ*, Sk. *daśa*, Phal. *daš* "10".

(b) While IE. *ǧh* and *gwh* both give *h* in OIA., they are kept separate in Kafiri :

IE. *ǧh :* Sk. *hima–*, Kho. *him*, but Kt. Wg. *zīm, jīm* "snow" ;

IE. *gwh :* Sk. *han–*, Paš. *han–*, but e. g. Pr. *žon–*, Wg. *ǰã–* "to kill."

This distinction under (b) may remind one of Iranian, but in numerous other details the Kafir group goes with Indian not Iranian. Only one decidedly un-Iranian feature shall be mentioned here : there is no transition of *s* > *h*, but *s* is preserved in Kafiri. Those scholars, who believe in the derivation of Kafiri from a purely Indo-aryan base, will have to assume not only a secondary change of OIA. *ś* > *ċ* (= *ts*), but also a splitting up of OIA

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h into *z, j* (*=dz*) and *ǰ, ž* according to its pre-Indo-aryan origin. It seems peferable, therefore, to presume that Kafiri represents, besides Indian and Iranian, a third branch of the Aryan languages, which on the whole, however, is nearer to Indian than to Iranian. Probably the Kafir group broke away from the main mass of Indian tribes in pre–Vedic times. But the Kafir languages contain also many words with purely Indian features, e. g. where IE. *k̂* is represented by *ś* as in Sk. (cf. Wg. *doš* "10"). Whether these have been brought into Kafiri by later waves of Indian immigration into the Hindukush or whether they are "loan–words' is now a question of secondary importance. In any case, there is ample linguistic evidence that Kafir dialects, inspite of their relatively isolated position in inaccessible mountain valleys, have constantly been influenced by Indo-aryan languages and have to a large extent developed on parallel lines to them.

After this deviation, we now return to the question of traces of Vedic language peculiarities in modern Dardic and Kafiri. Without any attempt to be exhaustive, a few such items, which I feel are pertinent here, will be quoted and, if necessary, briefly discussed.

2. 1. Several Dardic and Kafir languages have a word for "irrigation channel" which goes back to **yaviya–* or **yavyā– :* Ash. *yō* f. (in Wama not "streamlet" as given for Ash. in NTS 2, 286 and T. 10442), Kt. *yū* m., Dm. *žaš* (NTS 12, 129), Phal. *yāb* f., Sh. *yaṗ* f. (genitive *yabai*), Tor. *yāb,* Kho. *žoi,* Kal. *žai.* Outside Dardic the word has been recorded only in another northwestern language, viz. Lahndā *jẽ* f. "small stream in a torrent bed" (T. 10442). While Grierson in his book on Torwali (1929) compared only Old Persian *yauvīyā–* (which survives in e. g. Persian *ǰoī,* Parachi *žī* "rivulet", c. f. IIFL I, 304), Morgenstierne was the first to point to Sk. *yavyā–* (NTS 2, 286). This *yavyā* in Naighaṇṭuka 1. 13 is enumerated as the first of the *nadīnāmāni,* but otherwise not found outside the Rigveda.

As to the meaning of the Vedic word, however, scholars disagree. Unfortunately two stanzas where *yavyā* occurs (RV 1. 167. 4 and 1. 173. 12) are obscure. K. Hoffmann (1967, p. 195f.) has recently argued that in RV 1. 167. 4 the translation of *yavyā* by "channel" is at least not altogether impossible. More lucid is the third passage where *yavyā–* occurs (instrumental plural *yavyābhiḥ* to be read as 4 syllables) :

RV 8. 87 (98) 8 (a) *vā́r ṇá tvā yavyā́bhir*

(b) *várdhanti śūra brā́hmāṇi*

Line (b) "the brahmans, o hero, make thee grow", contains the well-known Vedic idea, discussed in detail by Lüders–Alsdorf (1959, pp, 557ff.), that the gods 'grow' through the prayers, poems or songs of their adorers; cf. e.g. RV.

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1. 31. 18 *eténāgne bráhmaṇā vāvṛdhasva* "through this brahman grow, o Agni" and many other parallels.

Line (a) is usually understood to contain an *upamā* in which the 'growing' of the gods is compared with the 'growing' of an ocean, lake or pond by brooks or rivulets. Ludwig took *vār* here to mean "ocean". This was rejected by Oldenberg in his "Noten", who, moreover, in his commentary on RV. 1. 167 denied any connection of *yavyābhir* with brooks. Lüders-Alsdorf (1959, p. 559, following Geldner's translation) prefer the interpretation that a lake is fed by brooks. Similar ideas can often be met with in the RV. e.g. 1. 52. 7 : *hradáṃ ná hí tvā nyṛṣánty ūrmáyo bráhmāṇīndra táva yáni várdhanā.* Lüders-Alsdorf (1959, p. 558) translate into German : "Wie Wellen in einen Teich gehen, o Indra, in dich hinein die Brahmans, die dich wachsen machen (Like waves into a pond go into thee, o Indra, the brahmans, which make thee grow)". I should prefer the translation "like into a lake go into thee, Indra, the waves (of Soma) (and) the brahmans which make thee grow" ; cf. for this interpretation RV. 10. 43. 7ab *ápo ná síndhum abhí yát samakṣáran sómāsa índraṃ kulyā́ iva hradám...* "when the Soma-drinks have flown together in Indra like the waters in Sindhu, like brooks into a lake...".

But in line (a) of RV. 8. 98. 8 the comparison seems to be different, as *vār* almost certainly means the element water and not a particular receptacle of water (like ocean, lake, pool, pond). Thus I should translate : "like water by brooks/channels (makes grow the crop) the brahmans make thee grow". Whether the poet thinks of natural brooks or dug channels (cf. RV. 7. 49. 2 *yā́ ápo...khanítrimā utá vā yā́ḥ svayaṃjā́ḥ ;* cf. AV. 1. 6. 4 = 19. 2. 2) we cannot know. Judging from the point of view of the modern Dardic and Kafir words, and of Old Persian *yauvīyā*, we might prefer "irrigation channel". But that can hardly be decisive for the RV. In any case it is the fertilizing strength of water with which the poet compares the power of his poem. As a parallel we may quote the similar idea expressed in RV. 10. 43. 7cd

várdhanti víprā máho asya sā́dane
yávaṃ ná vṛṣṭír divyéna dā́nunā

"The poets make his (Indra's) greatness grow at the place of sacrifice like rain (makes) the barley (grow) by celestial moisture".

2. 2. In Prasun, the most aberrant and difficult of the Kafir languages, a word *bem* occurs. From a corpus of not yet published 100 texts recorded in 1956 and subsequent interviews with Prasun informants, the word was found to have three meanings : (a) religious hymn to one of the pre-Muslim Kafir gods ; (b) myth about the gods told in prose ; (c) marvellous or enigmatic story outside the sphere of religion, to be distinguished from *pamoṭik* (or

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dialect variants) which means "fairy-tale, story of a more usual type" (<**pramsantra–* NTS 15, 268; T. 8720). A *bem* in this latter meaning always contains something extraordinary, hitherto unheard of. A rather frequent idiom is : *atik krək bema bem əskozog na lasəmš* "such an extraordinary story we have never heard (literally 'seen')".

While meanings (a) and (b) were amply attested to in the corpus collected in 1956, meaning (c) was comparatively rare apart from the quoted idiom. In 1970, when doing field-work again in the Prasun-valley, I found the opposite to be true. Meaning (a) and (b) had become obsolete and were remembered only by old informants, but denied by several young ones. Meaning (c), on the other hand, was confirmed by everyone questioned. This is not surprising as the pre-Muslim Kafir religious poetry and mythic tradition is falling more and more into oblivion.

Pr. *bem* is, as far as I know, not attested to in any other Kafir language. It is an isolated word within Pr. itself, with no obvious etymology. If we assume that "religious poem (with extraordinary magic powers)" is the oldest meaning of *bem,* then the development of the other meanings is easily conceivable. I propose to connect Pr. *bem* with Sk. *brahman–* n., in the Rigvedic meaning of the word, not in the later famous sense of the term ('the absolute') in post-Rigvedic philosophical speculation. Scholars disagree as to the precise meaning of *brahman–* in the early Veda (cf. the discussion by Thieme, 1952), but probably most of them would consent, that *brahman–* belongs to the semantic sphere of "religious hymn, poem, prayer".

Phonetically the equation Pr. *bem* = Sk. *brahman–* is unobjectionable. Pr. *b* = Sk. *br–* is normal. Whatever the pre-Indian origin of *h* in *brahman–* may be (cf. Thieme, 1952, p. 99), in Pr. earlier **–zm–* < **–ghm–* or **–žm–* < **gwhm–* or an early loan from Indian *–hm–* would all have resulted in *m.* As to the vocalism evidence is slender, but not altogether lacking, for Pr. *e* = Sk. *a* : e.g. *set* "seven" (Sk. *sapta*), *lez* "ten" (Sk. *daśa*), *letəm* "tooth" (Sk. *danta–*). But we also find other vowels in Pr. corresponding to Sk. *a.* Though much new Prasun material has been collected since Morgenstierne wrote his sketch of the Prasun language (1949), the following words of his remain true to a large extent (NTS 15, 212) : "It is just as hopeless a task to try to unravel the probably quite complex history of Pr. vocalism, as it would be, from a scanty knowledge of Cockney pronunciation and without any dates about the intermediate stages, to trace the development of English vowels back to Gothic...Take, e.g. Indo-Iranian *a.* We find the whole gamut of Pr. vowels represented in words of undoubted etymology, containing an ancient *a.*" It is thus not surprising, that most etymologies of Prasun words mainly rest on

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considerations of the consonantism, apart from those of the meaning, of course. While formerly etymologists used to be malignantly accused that they care little for consonants and not at all for vowels, in Prasun we have to be very careful about the consonants, but admittedly often grope in the dark as to the vowels.

If the proposed etymology is accepted, then Pr. *bem* would be the only survival known so far, in a modern language, of the Rigvedic meaning of Sk. *brahman–*. The word *brahman–* in a different (and later) meaning, however, is still attested to in another Kafir language : in the name of the god of the Ashkun-Kafirs *Blamade*. Except for his name, nothing is known about this god. He was not known to my Prasun informants. As Prasun before 1896 was the religious centre and the storehouse of myths of ancient Kafiristan, the Ashkun god seems to have been of local importance only. It seems likely, though not quite certain, that his name was borrowed from Sk. *brahmadeva–* (NTS 2, 247).

2. 3. An important and convincing contribution to the subject under discussion, is G. Morgenstierne's article "A Vedic word in some modern Hindukush languages ?", published 1954 in India. Here he demonstrates that the Vedic word *śvātra–*, inter alia an epithet of Soma, survives in Kho. *išpār*, Kt. *ċəwō*, Pr. *uċapər* "rhubarb" (accepted by T. 12762).

His theory, however, that the Soma-plant in Vedic religion (and its Old Iranian Counterpart Haoma) was Rheum, has not gained general assent. Some objections to this conjecture can be found e. g. in an important paper of Mary Boyce (1970, 62 f.) The problem of the botanical identity of the plant is probably insoluble (cf. now also J. Brough, 1971, 331 ff.).

2. 4. In most NIA. languages the word for "heart" is to be derived from OIA* *hṛdaya–*. In Dm., in some Dardic languages (and in this case also in Gujarati *hāḍ* n. according to T. 14064) we find forms, however, which most probably go back to *hārdi–*. In the RV, *hārdi* is only attested to as nominative singular (cf. Wackernagel, AiGr III, 237 and II, 2, 304). Later on a stem *hārdi–* occurs in the meaning "contentment, ease, comfort". The modern forms likely to continue Vedic *hārdi* (with extensions) are : Dm. *zâdi*, Kho. *hārḍi*, Woṭapuri *yāṛ* (< **ārḍī*). Doubtful are the Pašai forms. In the subdialects of Aret and Kaṇḍak, we have *āeṛ* and *əṛ* respectively, while from *hārdi* we would have expected **ōṛ*. It is, therefore, advisable to also derive the form of the Lauṛowani subdialect of Pašai *hāṛ* not from **hārd–* but from **hṛd–*, with vowel lengthening in a monosyllabic word, as e. g. in *ṣāng* "horn" < *śṛṅga* (hardly from *śārṅga–*, as proposed by Morgenstierne 1947b, p. 147 and T. 12409 : but cf. now IIFL III, 1967, p. 26, note c).

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2. 5. In the Kafir languages (except Prasun) the normal word for "to see" is derived from a root **ven–* : Ash. *wēṇ–*, Wg. Kt. *wř̃ē*. While the connection with Av. and Old Persian *vaēn–* "to see" is clear, the meaning of the Vedic verb *vénati* is somewhat problematic. Without going into details here, I follow those scholars who have argued that also Vedic *ven–* has to be grouped with other verbs belonging to the semantic sphere of "seeing" (cf. e. g. Gonda, 1963, pp. 349 ff. with bibliographical references; W. P. Schmid, IF 70, 1965, p. 1ff.; M. Mayrhofer EWA). According to W. P. Schmid (p. 4), however, "to see (physically)" was not the basic meaning of Indo-Iranian **vaina–* (from which the usage in the Veda with connotations such as "to be eager or attentive, to long for" would have to be derived), but a later development on the Iranian side. This hypothesis is not supported by the Kafiri evidence. The semantic agreement of Iranian and Kafiri can hardly be explained by secondary Iranian influence on Ash., Wg. and Kt.

2. 6. There are some other words where Kafiri seems in closer semantic agreement with Iranian than with OIA. or where no OIA. counterpart is to be found at all. In some cases this Iranian–Kafiri agreement can be accidental and due to later OIA. developments, but it seems at present impossible to prove this in detail. Here are a few examples (cf. e. g. NTS 13, 233) :

Wg. *–kaċ–* "to look" (with preverbs, e. g. *ōkaċ–* "to look up", *wūkaċ–* "to look down", *berkaċ–* "to look out" etc.), Kt. *–kċ–* (with preverbs), Ash. *kas–* (with preverbs or not), Pr. *–skoz–* (with preverbs *askoz–* "to look there", *uskoz–* "to look here", not *uz-kuz–* as given in NTS 13, 229 and T. 3114) are semantically closer to Av. *kas–* than to Sk. *kāś–*. The Pr. 'root' *–skoz–* corresponds phonetically to Sk. *saṃ–kāś–*. On the other hand we have, however, Ash. *wiās* "brightness" : Sk. *vikāśa–* (T. 11629). The semantic and etymological relations between verbs meaning "to shine" and "to see" have recently been studied by Gonda (1969, p. 5 and note 13).

Ash. Wg. *zẽ* "winter" (Gambiri *ajẽ* quoted in T. 13976 from NTS 17, 318 contains the preposition *a* and means "in winter") and Kt. *ze–wōr* "winter–time" agree formally and semantically with Av. *zayana–* "wintry". The phonetically corresponding Sk. *hayana–* is to be found only in lexicographical works with the meaning "year", while the derivation Sk. *hāyana–* frequently occurs in texts.

Examples of Kafiri words, (probably accidentally) not attested to in OIA., are : Pr. *yasẽ* "belt" : Av. *yāh* (NTS 15, 280, T. 10478); Pr. *zulu* "vulva" : Av. *zadah–* "podex" (NTS 15, 281, T. 13961); Kt. Wg. *kan–*, Ash. *kōn–*, Pr. *wyöd–* "to laugh" : Persian *xandīdan* (T. 3815, 11663 ; Dardic and other NIA. languages normally derive their words for "to laugh" from OIA. *has–*).

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2. 7. The following example of a lexical peculiarity does not concern the Vedic language, but that of its famous commentator Yāska. In Nirukta 5. 17. 18, Yāska attempts to elucidate the obscure Vedic word *nicumpuṇa-* (RV 8. 93. 22). He does this according to his well-known 'etymological method' by associating words with more or less similar phonetics. The relevant passage runs :

nicumpuṇaḥ somo nicāntapṛṇo nicamanena prīṇāti...samudro' pi nicumpuṇa ucyate nicamanena pūryate. Lakshman Sarup, in his translation of Yāska (1924), renders *nicamana-* by "water" or "food" : "it exhilarates (when mixed) with "water"..... "(the ocean) is filled with water". *nicāntapṛṇa-* he translates "exhilarating food".

A more literal and exact translation would be as follows : "*nicumpuṇa-* (means) Soma; (the word amounts to) *nicānta-pṛṇa-* = exhilarating by (something) sipped; by sipping (Soma) exhilarates. The ocean, too, is called *nicumpuṇa-*; by sipping (the rivers) it is filled".

Now, in Sk. the root *cam* is not used with the preverb *ni* except in this passage. So one might suspect Yāska of having invented *nicam-* for the purpose of his 'etymological' speculations. That *nicam-*, however, was not altogether impossible, is shown by Pr. *-ňjum-* (with preverbs) "to sip, drink soup" <*ni-cam* (cf. NTS 15. 296). Here, the old preverb *ni* has been so closely connected with the root *cam* that it forms part of the new Pr. root *-ňjum-*, which, in turn, is used with other preverbs.

2. 8. It is perhaps still possible to find more archaisms in the vocabulary of Dardic and Kafiri. But if we turn to the morphology of these languages, we can hardly expect to trace many old features there. The inflectional system is considerably different to that of OIA. At least 3 features of the Vedic language, however, or of a dialect closely akin to it, have been preserved to the present day :

(a) The ending of the 1st. person plural in Kt., Wg., Ash. *-miš*, Pr. *-mš* and related forms in several Dard languages, is not to be connected with Sk. *-mâs*, but with Vedic *-masi* (cf. RLMA p. 56, 67).

(b) The ending of the 2nd. person plural (*-n* in Pr., nasalized vowel in several other languages) is to be derived from Vedic *-tana/-thana* (Turner, 1927, p. 237 ; RLMA p. 67 ; NTS 14, p. 21 ; Buddruss 1960, p. 54).

J. Bloch (1963, p. 38) gives a different explanation of the Pr. ending *-n*. e. g. in *esen, -sen* "you (plural) are". According to him this is originally the ending of the third person plural (<*-anti*), later transferred to the second person plural. However this is untenable. The 3rd person plural of the verb

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"to be" in Pr. isast "they are" <*asanti (cf. Sk. *santi*), with regular development of *nt*>*t* (cf. e. g. Pr. *wustī* "spring" : Sk. *vasanta–*).

(c) The Kati absolutive in *–tī* (cf. the northwestern versions of Ashoka's inscriptions) has been compared with the Vedic absolutive in *–tvī* by Konow (cf. RLMA p. 67 ; NTS 14, p. 27 etc.)

3. 0. By way of an appendix I shall take the opportunity of adding a few short remarks on some etymologies proposed in an article published in India by E. P. Hamp with the title "On *r in Kafir" (Hamp 1968, pp. 124–137). Other details of this interesting paper will have to be discussed elsewhere. Wherever possible, I shall refer for the sake of brevity to Turner's dictionary for more material.

3. 1. p. 127 f. For Wg. *buṛe* "deaf" a pre-form **bard–*<**badhra–* (Sk. *badhira–*) cannot be posited. One can hardly derive the word from a more definite form than **boḍa–* (T. 9268). Ash. *bäṛiṅä* (Wama *baṛiṅa*) "deaf" is an extension of **bāḍa–* (T. 9124), which belongs to another group of 'defective words' characterized by initial *b–*. Likewise Ash. *weṭ–* "to pass (time)" is not a metathesis from **virt–*<**vitr–*, but derived from *vṛtta–* (T. 12069). The proposed metathesis is, however, probably to be seen in the form **paṭṭa–* (<**partta–* : Sk. *pattra–*) from which many Kafiri and Dardic words meaning "feather, wing, leaf" derive. There is not sufficient reason to regard, with Hamp, **paṭṭa–* as a loan from Indic.

3. 2. p. 128 : For Kt. *zōtr,* Pr. *zāṭə* "kinsman, friend" a more convincing etymology has been proposed in NTS 15, 281 : <**jantra–*.

3. 3. p. 129 : Hamp correctly notices that the *ṭ* in Wg. *jũṭ,* Gambiri *jõṭ* "leopard" is difficult to explain. *ṭ* is, however, merely a slip of Morgenstierne's pen. In Gambiri and all dialects of Waigali known to me, this word has clearly a dental *t,* like Pr. *žut,* Kt. *ǰut* "panther, leopard". These words are to be derived from a form without *r,* like Sk. (nominative) *hantā* "killer".

3. 4. p. 129 : For the Kafiri words for "fairy", Wg. *wötrī* and related forms, Hamp suggests the etymology **vaktrī* "speaker". Even if "one recalls the rôle of speech in magic and religion" this is hardly acceptable in view of Ash. *wöutr* (NTS 7. 112), Wama *wöutrī* (not mentioned in T. 11495), which render an analysis as a compound with *–putrī,* as second member, very probable. Morgenstierne (NTS 15, 284) has proposed **vāta–putrī,* which is phonetically unobjectionable, but semantically not really provable, as nothing is known in Kafir folklore about "daughters of the wind". However I cannot suggest anything better.

3. 5. p. 129 : For Wg. *letrā–* "to reap" and numerous cognates, we need no

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pre-form **lāptrīyā–*; since NTS 7, 97 they have been convincingly derived from or compared with Sk. *lavitra–* "sickle".

3. 6. p. 129 : Ash. *maū* "maternal uncle" : I fail to see how this could be 'indirectly' derived from a stem in *–tār-*. Usually this word is connected with Wg. *mēl* "id." and Sk. *mātula–* (NTS 2, 265; T. 10009). Whether for Ash. a pre-form **mātura–* should be posited, remains doubtful.

3. 7. p. 132 : For Kegal (sub-dialect of Wg.) *gäṛ* "stone-fence", no **g(h)ard(h)–* need be reconstructed; cf. Paš. *gaṛu* "dike" < **gaḍa–* and T. 3967.

3. 8. p. 135 : The exact derivation of Wg. *kö, kōi* 'work", *zö, zō* "heart" and *sö, sōi* "sun" is uncertain. Hamp simply starts from **kărya-*, **j(h)ṛdya–sūrya–*. As a counter case he mentiones Ash. *marāk*, *mřāk* "boy", *mřēk* "girl". But this can hardly, with Hamp, be explained as a loan from Sk. (Vedic !) *maryaka–* directly into Ashkun (and perhaps Kt. *mere* "boy"). In this connection Kho. Kal. Sh. *maristan* "slave" should be noticed, according to Morgenstierne (1957, p. 93) < **mariyasthāna–*. I prefer Turner's derivation of *sö* from *saurī* (T. 13574) and of *kö* from *kāri* (T. 3064); on the other hand we have Ash. *–ari* (*–arj* is a misprint in T. 3078), Kt. *–ori* < **kāriya* "for the sake of."

3. 9. pp. 133 ff. : I cannot agree with Hamp's theories on the outcome of 'ṛ + consonant' in Kafiri. So Wg. *k(i)rīk* "back of the neck" is not from **krika–* < **kirka–* < *kṛka–*, but from *kṛka–* with the suffix *–kk* (T. 3419). Likewise, for Ash. Wg. *trupala* "wet", we need no metathesis **turpa–* < *trupa–* (cf. T. 6028, 5929, 14575 and Kt. etc. *trü* "curdled milk" < **tṛpu–* "sour", T. 5930, 14576). Hamp starts by assuming that the socalled "northwestern metathesis" (there is no difference in this respect between Dardic and Kafiri) occurred chronologically after the weakening of intervocalic obstruents, since otherwise the medial stop would have been exposed to weakening and loss. Thus we should have not Wg. *drigələ* "long", Gambiri *drigəṛäla* (for correct *drigəla ṛa* "is long", *ṛa* = "is"), if metathesis preceded medial weakening, but **dīrgha–* > **drīga–* > **drī*.

This theory, however, is not in harmony with the known facts, as the "northwestern metathesis" is most probably to be found as early as in the northwestern versions of Ashoka's inscriptions. As long ago as 1924, Turner (1924, p. 569) stated that *dīrgha–*was not simply transposed to **drīgha*. Turner assumed an anticipation of *r* into **drīrgha–*, which later gave, with assimilation, **drīggha–*. Another possibility is as follows : According to the Prātiśākhyas, consonants were doubled after *r*, so **dīrggha–*, *karmman–*might have resulted directly in **drīggha–*, **kramma–*. The whole problem is discussed in detail by Morgenstierne (1947b, pp. 153 f.).

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Abbreviations

(a) Languages (the same abbreviations have been used as in T.)

Ash.	Ashkun	OIA.	Old Indo-aryan
Av.	Avestan	Paš.	Pashai
Dm.	Dameli	Phal.	Phalūṛa
IE.	Indo-European	Pk.	Prakrit
K.	Kashmiri	Pr.	Prasun
Kal.	Kalasha	Sh.	Shina
Kho.	Khowar	Sk.	Sanskrit
Kt.	Kati	Tor.	Torwali
MIA.	Middle Indo-aryan	Wg.	Waigali
NIA.	New (modern) Indo-aryan		

(b) Texts, books and journals

AiGr	J. Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik. Göttingen.
AO	Acta Orientalia. Leiden.
AV	Atharvaveda
EWA	M. Mayrhofer, Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen. Heidelberg.
IF	Indogermanische Forschungen. Berlin.
IIFL	G. Morgenstierne, Indo-Iranian Frontier Languages. Oslo.
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
NTS	Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap. Oslo. (The author of the articles referred to is G. Morgenstierne)
RLMA	G. Morgenstierne, Report on a linguistic mission to Afghanistan. Oslo 1926.
RV	Ṛgveda
T.	R. L. Turner, A comparative dictionary of the Indo-aryan languages
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

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MATRILINEAL SOCIAL SYSTEMS IN INDIA

BY

Von U. R. EHRENFELS (Heidelberg)

Contents :

1. The Eclipse of the Joint Family.
2. The Patriarchal and Matrilineal Joint Family.
3. Three types of Matrilineal Joint Families (Kerala, Assam) : different backgrounds and developments.
4. Matriliny—Joint Family and Democracy.
5. Westernization or Autogenous Development ?

: 1 :

THE ECLIPSE OF THE JOINT FAMILY

The general trend towards shrinkage of joint family systems in India is frequently being attributed to mechanization, industrialization, urbanization, increased mobility and Westernization. This holds good for both, the patrilineal as well as the matrilineal types of extended families, though in a different measure of intensity. However, doubts concerning a necessary and direct link between the above modernistic innovations and the depreciation of joint family systems are suggested by internal evidence, as well as by a comparison with parallel developments in the field of caste and modern social theory, or what might be termed : "Caste and Politics". Let us first consider possible causal links between modernism and the eclipse of the joint family one by one.

(a) Mechanization. The introduction of machinery, not known before the twentieth century, especially the internal combustion engine, has affected Indian economic and social life in two fields mainly : transport and agriculture.

The introduction of motor traffic on cheap autobus lines opened up secluded rural areas and even mountain regions which would otherwise have remained little affected by the latest innovations of technology and ideology. This aspect will also be discussed under (c) Mobility *(infra)*, but agriculture is here of primary importance to our problem. The introduction of tractor, combine and the electric pump for irrigation would seem to suggest co-operation of many individuals in co-operative farming, rather than the actually observed division of joint landholdings for the sake of individual small-scale farming (Darling, 1930 : 17, 382; Ehrenfels, 1962 : 123–46; Gadgil, 1965; Goyal, 1966; Laxminarayana and Kanungo, 1967; Schiller, 1967). Such seemingly contradictory (though not of necessity mutually exclusive) trends towards co-operative farming on non-traditional lines and, at the same time,

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the division of joint family holdings, appears not so much to be caused by techno-economic necessity, as by socio-political ideology. The latter's motivating forces will presently be considered under (d) Westernization.

(b) Industrialization and Urbanization. These two interlocking social phenomena played, especially during the last three Five-Year-Plans (Dr. Zakir Hussain, 1968), an increasingly important rôle in India. The impact of this development on the vast majority of the country's agricultural population, however, is coupled with acute shortage of land, caused by the explosive population increase and the resultant need to seek non-agricultural employment, mostly in industrial or urban centres. Hence the rapid urbanization of to-day. However, such urbanized families tend to re-integrate in large kinship groups, even joint families, in common residential areas (Kapadia, 1966 : 285, 301, etc.; Bose, 1967). Urbanized individuals or groups tend to keep alive socio-economic ties with rural joint family members (Patel, 1963 : 25, 108; Kropp, 1968).

This trend towards re-integration of joint family ties is not without parallels in other fields.

Celibacy in the monastic life of Theravāda Buddhism, for example, had at first disrupted the traditional linkage of kinship and property rights in Ceylon, but they asserted themselves in the shape of the "rule of pupillary succession" *(Śiṣyānuśiṣyaparamaparāva)*, according to which "a deceased chief monk of a temple is succeeded by his senior pupil..." who is in significantly frequent cases a kinship relative (Evers, 1967 : 705). Traditional caste restrictions have loosened their hold on Hindu India during the past one and a half centuries and under various circumstances. This is particularly true in the fields of traditional occupation, commensality and untouchability. Caste has even been abolished as an officially acknowledged and sanctionable social institution, after Independence of India. Yet, All-Indian caste coherence has had a come-back in political and even in various other fields (Srinivas, 1956, 1966 : 11, seq.) and is largely determining arranged marriages, which still outnumber by far individually chosen 'love-marriages' in Hindu India.

The re-appearance, in changed form, of joint family ties among urbanized groups should be borne in mind, especially with regard to economic co-operation and residential patterns. Further studies of the Indian family will, in this connection, profitably go beyond the well-known examples of Tamilians in Bombay and Delhi, Sikhs in Calcutta, Assam, etc., or Sindhis in practically all urban centres.

(c) Mobility. The movement of groups, rather than individuals, other than *sadhus*, has been high in India. This is especially due to the traditionally

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established form of corporate caste-mobility. This made such movements possible as, for instance, the large-scale settlement of Kshattriyas in the Brahmaputra valley of Assam, Mahratties, Punjabis, Sindhis and Banjaras in South India, or that of Urdu-speaking Muslims from the North-West there or in Bengal.

The *Pax Britannica,* its railway system and economic development, have added further impulses to this kind of group-mobility. It resulted, for instance, in the mass migrations of Chota Nagpur-and Santal communities to plantations in Assam and Bengal, or Tamilian labour to Ceylon and Malaya.

This kind of group-mobility over large distances, however, had (and has) not much influence on the actual family structure, which tends to continue in a more or less undisturbed form at the newly chosen homeland.

Short distance mobility, contrariwise, inaugurated by the mass introduction of cheap motor transport (Ehrenfels, 1963/II : 217 ff., 225), brings employment opportunities to single individuals, or nuclear families. This is particularly true of urban centres which are too near to suggest emigration of large joint families and yet too far from the joint family residence to permit its continuation under changed circumstances.

Motor bus traffic, moreover, diffuses through its own personnel and others slogans and notions from smaller urban centres into formerly secluded, so-called 'backward areas' *(supra).*

(d) Westernization. If material changes have not actually diminished the need for corporate life, as we have tried to show in our passages on (a) mechanization and, to lesser degree, (b) industrialization-urbanization, it seems to be rather a different ideological attitude towards the traditional joint family pattern which affects it consistently. This changed attitude goes generally under the name of Westernization in India, even if it actually emanates in some cases from Russia, or in fact from the East, namely : China. This 'westernization' ideology opposes the traditional forms of the joint family on various, and in part contradictory, grounds.

Traditional forms of religions and their equalizing influences on individual behaviour impulses are to a certain extent considered retrograde and hence discouraged. Individualism and a certain amount of independence of younger people, even women, are hailed as progressive, although in the important field of choosing one's mate, individual decision is, as already pointed out, also today practised by quite a small minority of modernists only.

Apart from this, one sometimes gets the impression that ideological changes occur occasionally for the change as such, rather than in the pursuance of any particular ideology. A numerically small but ideologically influential ,wester-

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nization trend favours all over India inter-caste-marriages and sometimes even inter-religious marriages, which had been formerly tabu. Particularly Brahmin-non-Brahmin marriages began to get popular. Nambuderi Brahmins, however, the one community in Hindu India, which permitted traditionally marriages to non-Brahmin brides from the Nayar,-Menon,-Pillai,- and kindred groups, now favour endogamous in-group caste marriage, thereby discouraging the extra-caste alliance, which in this single case had been sanctioned by time-honoured tradition.

A significantly irrational element appears here in the allegedly rationalistic arrangements of modern reforms.

: 2 :

THE PATRIARCHAL AND MATRIARCHAL JOINT FAMILIES

Some of the major forces which are leading to an inroad in, if not an eclipse of the joint family system in India (and elsewhere), as outlined above, might be expected to act on patrilineal and matrilineal family patterns alike. However, actual responses of patrilineal and matrilineal social systems to the sets of disintegrative forces, which we outlined, appear to be in many ways different. This holds good even with regard to different family types within the two major sections : patriarchy and matriliny.

The Parsee joint family, for example, gave way to Westernization earlier, and more completely, than that of their direct Hindu and Muslim neighbours in the same area. Such instances could be multiplied almost indefinitely, but our present analysis will be confined to matrilineal patterns of the joint family only, as far as we find it represented in India.

It existed, and partly still exists, in Kerala, the south-western-most state in peninsular India, and also in the north-eastern highlands of the Khasi-, Jaintia-, and Garo-Hills. The matrilineal communities of Kerala speak Malayalam, a Dravidian language, whilst the Khasi language belongs to the Austric, and the Garo to the Tibeto-Burmese linguistic group. The biological, historical and economic affinities of these peoples is even more complexly varieted.

In Kerala the matrilineal joint family system is found among the leading, formerly feudal land-owning non-Brahmin Hindu and some Muslim classes of the plains, as well as among three or four tribal highlander groups of shifting cultivators in the Western Ghats.

Social links between matrilineal plainspeople, especially the Nayar group, and Nambuderi Brahmins, where so strong that early travellers described the former as a kind of martial, unorthodox and the latter as orthodox Brahmins. Institutionalyzed simultaneous polyandry among matrilineal groups of South

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Malabar also was at one time considered representative in contrast to the fraternal polyandry among Himalyan communities, whilst neither polyandry, nor inter-marriage relations with Brahmins characterize Khasi and Garo socio-religious organization.

More recent studies of kinship systems and behavioural patterns in the Nayar group of matrilineal plainspeople in Kerala have shown that the stress on the joint family is strong, even after much acculturation and reform legislation during the first half of the twentieth century (Gough, 1952). The Nayar, Menon and Pillai castes form the bulk of this population, whilst kindred communities, Poduvals, Nambiars, Ambalivasis, Nambisans and Samanthans are considered somewhat higher in the caste hierarchy, and Izhavas (Tiyyas of North Malabar) lower, according to traditional concepts, though these do not always tally with the functional position of today.

Contemporary disapproval and actual disintegration of the matrilineal joint family (Malayalam : *marumakkathayam*) is both intense and generally accepted (Nakane, 1965). The modernistic attitude to the complex is being linked with a fairly general social revolt against the matrilineal mode of inheritance and any matrifocal or other mother-right features of traditional society. Here the matrilineal castes of Kerala are found following a trend which contradicts the otherwise generally observed evolution towards equal rights for women, if not actual feminism. The main arguments for this opposition contend that the joint family (Mal. : *taravad*) is outmoded and that marumakkathayam is incompatible with modernism. As both features are locally interconnected, it is argued, both should be abolished. The complementary argument against the patrilineal joint family and patriarchy is significantly absent among modernists in patrilineal societies of India, even though the joint family is also receding. They may be denouncing the joint family on various grounds, but the generally accepted tradition of patrilineal inheritance and succession is thereby not being questioned. We shall have to return to this attitudinal difference between patrilineal and matrilineal modernists later, but shall first analyse the habitually advanced arguments against the matrilineal joint family in Kerala.

One of the foremost complaints against marumakkathayam is the alleged autocratic behaviour of the maternal uncle as *kāravanam,* acting as manager and virtual head of the joint family—the taravad-property. In addition to his authoritarianism, the kāranavan is, or was, not unfrequently accused of being disloyal to his sister(s) and her (their) children, whose common property to manage is his traditional obligation. At the same time he is suspected of favouring his wife and her children by him who, according

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to the matrilineal arrangement, belong to their maternal taravad and economic unit, not his. This latter part of the habitual criticism is, properly understood, not so much directed against either the joint family or the matrilineal social system, as against its neglect by the leading taravad head. This difference in the point of criticism is important to note.

The first complaint, that about autoritarianism on the part of the taravad, property's managing kāranavan, should rather have been expected to figure prominently in patrilineal joint family systems. These are headed by one supreme, old patriarch, whose position is neither shared by his wife, the mother of the children, nor by her brother, the maternal uncle from the children's point of view. The kāranavan, on the other hand, is in the matrilineal joint family only one, out of three important authorities. These are :

firstly : the mother, as the centre of the family,

secondly : he himself, the mother's brother, as her legal representative especially towards outsiders, and

thirdly : the father, a person of paramount psychological and personal importance. However, legally and from the point of view of the common taravad property, he holds the position of an honoured guest or that of a welcome outsider.

This basic structure of the matrilineal joint family rests thus on plural authority, thereby contrasting to the monolithic concentration of power in the patriarchal father, or grand-father, etc. (Ehrenfels, 1953 : 356, seq., 1964 : 109). We may in this connection recall that the *pater familias* in ancient Rome, a paradigmatic figure of the patriarchal social stucture, wielded unlimited power over life and death of his family in the wider sense of the word, which included slaves, children and his wife.

The Kerala kāranavan is hence being accused of precisely that overbearing authoritarianism which the very structure of the matrilineal joint family is trying to avoid by introducing three different foci of authority instead of only one, as in the case of the patrilineal joint family. It is for this very reason that the term patriarchy, or father's (absolute) rule is appropriate, whilst its counterpart : *matriarchy* for a matrilineal social system is misleading, because the mother is here not the only important leader figure.

: 3 :

THREE TYPES OF MATRILINEAL JOINT FAMILIES

This somewhat paradoxical and seemingly self-contradictory situation of modern criticism, levied against the traditional matrilineal joint family

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system, can only be fully understood in the light of the historical background picture in Kerala.

The traditional integration of mythology, religion and ritual, as well as the complex social organization of matriliny, or mother-right, in Kerala, suggest a comparatively early origin of this system there. This hypothesis appears further corroborated by the internal similarities of this pattern with matri-focal features all over Dravidian-speaking South India and the northern parts of Ceylon (Ehrenfels, 1963/I: 156, seq.).

Economic, religious, ritualistic (as in the *talikettu-kalayānam*) and, above all, the frequent marital relations between the Nayar-group of castes and the Nambuderis, the paramount group of Kerala Brahmins, are probably two to three millennia old and must have begun to exert their influence at a time when the matrilineal joint family system had been well established in Kerala. It was probably also well integrated in social life there, or else it should have given way to acculturative patrilineal influences, as in other parts of Southern India.

The hypothesis that matriliny has been imposed on the Nayar- and related castes by Nambuderi Brahmins, in order to suit the convenience of their second and subsequent younger sons, can be dismissed for a variety of reasons, among which the presence of the same system among Highlanders should be noted, who are in no marital relationship institutionally connected with Nambuderi Brahmins (Iyer, 1961; Pillai, 1961; Ehrenfels, 1965 : 14, seq.).

This being so, we are led to assume that the criticized overbearing of autocratic kāranavans is not an inherent feature of either matriliny or the joint family but, rather, its very contradiction, brought about by the close marital and ideological association with pronouncedly patriarchal Nambuderi Brahmanism.

Second and subsequent younger sons are in Nambuderi tradition debarred from marrying caste mates, or inheriting paternal landholdings. They generally married girls from the matrilineal castes, according to the *sambandham* rite. Socio-psychological and personal relations with their Nayar- and similar caste-children were generally close, though the children belonged to their mother's taravad and caste, according to the matrilineal order of succession and inheritance. However, younger sons of wealthy Nambuderi Brahmin families could, and frequently did, enhance not only the prestige, but also the financial situation of their Nayar wives. Naturally the day-to-day life in such families was imbued with Brahmanic concepts, ritual and attitudes. In the course of generations, the Nayar- and kindred caste-groups got even biologically assimilated to such an extent that it was, as we have mentioned,

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difficult for early travellers from the West to differenciate between the two inter-marrying groups.

The second major complaint against the traditional kāranavan, namely his alleged disloyalty to the matrilineal system, by favouring his wife's own biological children to the disadvantage of his nieces and nephews, i.e. his matrilineal nearest of kin, fits into the socio-biological picture. Ironically enough these often substantiated accusations against the kāranavan were used as one of the main arguments for the so-called Nayar-regulations and finally the abolition of marumakkathayam, the very same matrilineal system, which the kāranavans neglected or ignored.

Significant differences to this situation of the matrilineal joint family in Kerala can be observed in the north-eastern corner of India, notably among the Khasi.

Kur, the Khasi joint family, or its smaller lineage : *iing,* rest, like in Kerala, on three elemental foci of matrilineal family organization (Gurdon 1907, Cantlie 1934, Nakane 1968) :

firstly : Ka jawbei, the mother, grand-mother, or great-grand-mother,
secondly : U kni, the maternal uncle, also in several generations, and
thirdly : the father, who stays uxorilocally with his wife, unlike the Nayar fathers of South Malabar, who lived sometimes in their maternal taravad, visiting their wives during nights only.

The central position of the mother, and specially the grand-mother, etc., is on the whole stronger pronounced among Khasi than in Kerala, even of the old days. The u kni, the maternal uncle of the Khasi, on the other hand, was rarely accused of overbearing authoritarianism, though, like the kāranavan in Kerala, also frequently charged with prefering his children and wife to the disadvantage of sister(s) and their children,—his matrilineal nearest of kin in the younger generation. This development may have been mainly due to Christian influences, wielded by European missionaries and their frequent Khasi converts. Otherwise the u kni was not traditionally emulating a patriarchal prestige image, in the way the Nayar kāranavan did. Men in a traditional Khasi house used not only to eat together with their womenfolk, but even to get up first in the morning and warm the common breakfast, before going to work, along with them. This illustrates the contrast to daily life in a traditional Nayar taravad, where men and women used to eat separately, the women after the men, and women got up to speak standing, if addressed by a kāranavan, thus exhibiting formal respect for the male sex,

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like among Brahmins. The Khasi ka jawbei is shown as much respect as the u kni, — particularly, when she has reached the state of a grand-mother. The psychological proximity of wives and children to husbands corresponded also in the traditional Khasi iing to the afore-mentioned residential closeness.

Khasi converts to Christianity have not, generally, abandoned matrilineal succession or inheritance. In many cases even the joint family has been retained (Ehrenfels, 1955 : 314). This is the more worth of notice, in our context, as these converts are numerous and hold economico-socially influential positions, as Government officials, lawyers, physicians, clerks and merchants of both sexes. Kerala marumakkathayi converts to Christianity, on the other hand, have invariably abandoned matriliny and adopted a kind of Western European type of patrilineal succession and inheritance, along with the Christian religion. This may, at least in part, have been due to different policies followed by the converting Christian missionaries, but also due to different historico-social environments of the converted Malayalis. The powerful example of the patriarchally organized Syrian Christian community encouraged assimilation of western concepts during a period of well over a thousand years before the first European missionaries arrived in the wake of colonial expansion. The prestige of, and amalgamation with, the even more extremely patriarchal Nambuderi Brahmin community, with its emphasis on Sanskritic traditions lent further weight to this line of thought among both : converting missionaries and converted Malayalis. Sanskṛt is, among all other Dravidian languages, most prominently integrated into contemporary Malāyalam, thus opening a door also to the likewise patriarchal acculturation trends from North India.

No such long-standing contacts with indigenous patriarchal prestige groups occurred in the Khasi- and Jaintia-Hills south of the Brahmaputra valley. The only exception was the Jaintia Rajah, who, though a matrilineal highlander, speaking Khasi as mother-tongue himself, did have a winter residence at Durgāpur in the plains of Eastern Bengal. There he and his Khasi speaking people maintained socio-religious, but not frequent, much less any institutionalized marital relations with patriarchal Bengali Brahmins. Scarcely any palpable permeation took place in the day-to-day life among Khasi, Wár, Lyngngam (Ehrenfels, 1955 : 316), or even Jaintia, by Hindu-Brahmin customs or ideologies.

The Khasi- and Jaintia-Hills have never been conquered by either Hindu rajahs or Muslim nawābs, nor even by the powerful Ahom, who gave Assam

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her name, or by the Burmese. It was only in the 19th century that the British occupied the Khasi- and Jaintia- as well as the Garo-Hills. After the establishment of the *Pax Britannica* there, most of Christian missionaries seem to have visualized a culturally semiautonomous Christian Khasiland which was to live in closer contact with the British rulers at Shillong, the capital of Assam, than with their Hindu and Muslim neighbours in the plains. This, and possibly sympathies of some pro-feminist circles in England at the turn of the 20th century, may have suggested the toleration of the customary Khasi matriliny, though other 'heathen institutions' as for instance the Khasi national sport : bow-and-arrow competitions, had been rigorously prohibited as pagan, and the drinking of indigenous rice-beer condemned by Christian missionaries.

However, even apart from different attitudes among Christian missionaries and colonial administrators in Kerala and Assam, the Khasi's attitudes to, and judgement of, matriliny was, and still is, palpably different from those of the Malayalis in Kerala.

The joint family is also criticized by several young Khasis. It is also considered unwieldy and incompatible with modernism, but this criticism is not generally linked with that of the matrilineal rule of succession and inheritance. Matriliny indeed is, not quite correctly, perceived as an expression of the Khasi national character, whereby the worldwide distribution of the matrilineal social system, and its existence in other parts of India, is frequently overlooked. Mother-right features, in this respect, among many Khasis as national symbol, along with the ritualistic-mythologically based affection for the cock, or for megalithic stone monuments. If matriliny is being criticized or its abolition, like in Kerala, suggested, this is mostly so, because modern Khasis dread to be considered different from all other 'civilized peoples'. Khasi men, especially those who served in the plains, are naturally affected by the generally prevailing attitudes of their sex-mates in patriarchal communities, looking down on "matriarchate" as a primitive, if not actually dishonourable and even immoral stage of gynecocracy, which deprives them, the males, of their natural right to rule wife and children unconditionally, but, instead, burdens them with legal obligations towards their sisters and sisters' children.

In Garo society the situation is again different (Playfair, 1909). Garo society is no doubt based on matrilineal succession and inheritance, even matrilocal-uxorilocal residence, but the development of joint families was restricted by tradition. Moreover, a trend towards the establishment of

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husbands' prominent, even exclusive rôles in the management of the family property—otherwise not characteristic of matrilineal societies in India—can be traced in various Garo social institutions.

The husband, though living in his mother-in-law's, or wife's, house and working on their *machong's* (clan-) lands, still assumed traditionally the position of an almost monarchic family-head. He was functioning as an owner, without sharing much responsibility with his wife's brother. Contrariwise, his sister's son, or another of his machong-mates, plays as *nokrom* a traditionally very important rôle in his affairs (Playfair, 1909 : 72). The nokrom and his traditionally circumscribed function has been interpreted as that of a quasi-lawyer for a man who lives in his wife's machong and house, instead of in his own mother's or sister's.

The development of a truly matrilineal joint family appears further engulfed by the Garo permission—even obligation—for a young man to marry his mother-in-law, after his father-in-law's death, or the right of a husband to send away an unfaithful wife and demand another from her clan as a substitute.

Bachelor hall, male youth organization and corporate life play important rôles in traditional Garo society. Clan sisters seem to have been socially very close. Thus, related co-wives used to live together in the house of the first married among them, whilst Khasi marriage was traditionally monogamous and Kerala plural wives had, each, her own maternal home or lived in a newly set up house. If a Garo wife died, leaving behind a widower, her machong had to provide him with a new wife, who then lived in her deceased clan-sister's former house. The widowed husband and virtual manager, though not legal owner, of the property could in that way continue his socio-economic activities with his new wife in the old surroundings.

All these, and some other, historico-religious as well as the linguistic features of the Garos seem to fit well into their traditional mythology. According to Garo mythology, Megam Airipia, the first man who had to die, and consequently entered the realm of the hereafter (Playfair, 1909 : 107), was a Lyngngam Khasi (Ehrenfels, 1955 : 318). The Lyngngam Khasi are the direct eastern neighbours of the Garos, with whom they have many things in common. Also the matrilineal social system has, according to Garo tradition, been adopted by their tribal council from the Khasis long ago.

Recalling that the Garos speak a Tibeto-Burmese language, closely connected with Cachari — not Austro-Asiatic, like Khasi—,that their religion is centred around predominantly male deities, like Tatara Rabuga and others (Playfair, 1909 : 80-82),—not around a double-sex deity, like the Khasi U Blei-Ka

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Blei (Ehrenfels, 1950 : 273-38)—and that they display animal skulls and ornamental hornbill feathers around their village boundaries; —close historical relationship ties with the bulk of surrounding Assamese and Tibetan patrilineal tribes seem suggested, rather than with their culturally more advanced, matrineal Khasi-speaking neighbours in the East. Significantly the Garos had neither developed technological skills, comparable with the Khasi tradition of smelting iron ore, or social differentiation, like that in Khasi states headed by ritualistically predominant queens and their brothers, as military commandants and chieftains *(siem)*.

The hypothesis of a comparatively recent adaptation of the matrilineal system, several generations before the beginning of British colonial expansion, would also seem to be corroborated by a certain lacking vitality of the Garo matrilineal order, as soon as it was confronted with the onslaught brought about by the ideas of Christian missionaries, administrators, merchants or other immigrants from the plains.

: 4 :

MATRILINY, JOINT FAMILY AND DEMOCRACY

A characteristic feature of the matrilineal joint family is the existence of a plural authority pattern, contrasting from the monolithic authority of a patriarch in the patrilineal family. We have already hinted at this structural difference, especially when describing the position of the kāranavan in a marumakkathayam taravad of Kerala. However, the basic pattern of a threefold authority, consisting of mother, her brother and her husband, reappears in a similar form also among the Khasis, but least so the Garos.

It is essential to realize at this point that here no mirror image of the patrilineal family can be perceived. This asymmetry has not been recognized by earlier ethnographers, ethnologists and sociologists; for this reason they have used the term "matriarchy", assuming that the rôle of the mother was there the same as that of the father in patriarchy. The asymmetry to which we are here referring is not only of theoretical, but also of functional-practical importance.

We have also pointed out that the managing maternal uncle (kāranavan in Kerala, u kni in Khasiland) is being criticized on the ground of partiality for his wife and her children, to the disadvantage of his sister(s), nieces and nephews. A corresponding conflict of loyalties, centred perhaps around the father's sister (or brother) in patrilineal families, is not common. A matrilineal man with wife and children, as well as sister(s) and their children,

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has obligations towards both groups of relatives, though in somewhat different ways, and must avoid partiality to either. This situation demands self-restraint and a goodly portion of selflessness. Generally, the duties of a man as mother's brother to his nieces and nephews and as brother to his sister(s) are of a more economic, legal and generally formal character, whilst those towards his wife and biological children appear to be psychologically determined, personal-voluntary and informal. This division of functions and loyalties demands again a sense of duty, which the patriarchal head of a patrilineal joint family also requires to meet traditional demands,—but in addition to this : mental balance in situations of multiple and sometimes mutually opposing loyalties. These are qualities which may not be easily developed in every man who has both : sister(s) and wife (-ves), each with children of her own.

This complex situation explains the greater vulnerability of the matrilineal as compared to the patrilineal family system.

There are, however, also positive qualities in mother-right which counterbalance its fragility. Divided loyalties, on the part of the older men in a family, correspond to a plurality of authority-bearers for the children. The father is to them not the symbol of monolithic authority, nor is the mother a kind of ally in a tacit alliance against the father figure, as it often happens in the patriarchal pattern.

The matrilineal family structure, on the other hand, corresponds to a democratic, even parliamentary type of Government, with its weaknesses and its strength. Children learn to deal with multiple representatives of authority and that these frequently differ from one another and have hence to be dealt with in different ways.

The matrilineal joint family can be seen as a kind of pre-university-education for the university campus of parliamentary democracy.

It has been suggested that the political success and influence of traditionally matrilineal communities in newly established democracies of formerly colonial countries was based on these circumstances. The Menons, Nayars and Pillais from Kerala and their rôles in the Central Government of New Delhi and the Minangkabau from Central Sumatra and their participation within the Indonesian Government of Djakarta may be taken as cases in the point.

Women are legally better placed than they generally are in patrilineal societies. Yet they cannot take their hold on the husband for granted, for he has less legal, but rather psychologically based emotional obligations

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towards his wife and children. Another factor is that girl-children and women are not educated as a sort of second-class members in the common family. The average woman lives in patrilineal societies under the burden of an inferiority complex which manifests itself the more in harsher forms, the more it remains unconscious. Constant nagging at husbands, or unceasing demands on their financial resources and a generally exhibited discontent with everything these unfortunate husbands do, or fail to do, can be understood as a subconscious revenge, taken against one individual representative of the male sex, by which the woman feels herself oppressed.

It is in the light of these observations perhaps not surprising that in India women from Kerala and Central Assam—the matrilineal areas in the country—are popularly known for their good temper, *joi de vivre,* erotic attractiveness and pleasing attitude towards their menfolk. Contrary to preconceived opinions in the West, the woman, typical for matrilineal family life, is neither a colourless 'blue stocking', nor an autocratically domineering matriarch, but more frequently than not an affectionate mother and joyful partner for her husband and a loyally steadfast sister or niece.

These psychologically interlocking relationship-ties find a vivid expression in the female minorate among the Khasis and their institutionalized attitude towards the *ka khun khadu,* the youngest daughter of a joint family. There she functions not only as an 'heir apparent', but also in many important religious rites as an indispensible assistant to the family priest. She has to decorate the house, in which important ceremonies are to be performed, with the leaves of the sacred Khasi oak, etc. It is also she who carries, after cremation, the remaining bones of a deceased family member to the stone receptacle of the family, thus personalizing the bridge between generations and that between this world and the next. It is the youngest woman of a family in whose lap the earthly remains of the oldest members are carried to their final rest...A symbol ?

: 5 :

WESTERNIZATION OR AUTOGENOUS DEVELOPMENT ?

It cannot be considered within the scope of this brief review to offer a prognosis for the future, but two possible modes of development for the matrilineal family in India and elsewhere may yet be considered as possible. These are : further westernization and autochthonous development. Naturally both types may, and probably will, appear in various degrees of admixture. Some of our observations and their implications, suggested so far, may now be summarized and linked with tentative thoughts about future possibilities.

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The decline of the joint family, patriachal, as well as matrilineal, is fairly general in India. The reasons for this development do not appear to be solely economic, nor caused by technical advance only, but are also of a definitely psychological nature. World-wide trends of juvenile unrest, student revolts and 19th century anarchist revivalism seem to be common to highly industrialized societies and in most so-called 'underdeveloped countries' of Asia, Africa and Latin America as well. They have a culture-historic, rather than an economic-technological physiognomy.

Hand in hand with these trends goes that of women's emancipation and an ever increasing demand for the actual implementation of the principle : 'equal pay for equal work', which, although internationally acknowledged, is scarcely practiced anywhere.

In view of these world trends of feminism, it is possible that the very same acculturation of West-European social customs, which rang the death-knell for matriliny in the India of the first half of this century, may now support its revival in a changed garb. If this development should be considered as a possibility, the character of world feminism has to be taken into account.

Feminism in Europe, Russia and America has been following various trends towards liberalization, whilst politically reactionary movements tended, and probably still tend, to be anti-feminist. The appearance of Fascism and still more Nazism, or kindred political ideologies, were anti-feminist without exception. Similarly the epoch of Stalinism in the USSR had done away with a number of innovations of the October Revolution 1917, which had improved the lot of the Russian woman, not only as compared to that under the Tzars, but even if held against a Western European or American background. However, during the Stalinist epoch, the participation of women in public life was again reduced, family-planning again restricted, divorce made difficult and the monolithic power-position of the family father re-inforced by stress on monogamy and an officially boosted male hero-worship. At the height of this epoch in Soviet history, the average American woman enjoyed probably a better position than her Soviet sisters. Characteristically Neo-colonialism, warfare in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos and other developments after the assassination of the Kennedys and Martin Luther King coincided in the USA with a wide-spread trend to abandon women's hard-earned privileges, to neglect higher University education, career life or even social work and to return to the notorious "Three K's" of the Kaiser : *küche, kinder and kirche* (kitchen, children and church). Public opinion, even educational councillors, began to discourage young women intending

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to join University studies and women seem to be responding meekly or obligingly (Friedan 1963).

To sum up : the ups and downs in Western women's position frequently coincide with those of political and even military history.

The nineteenth century brought three almost world-wide emancipation trends. That of

(1) the proletariat,
(2) disqualified citizens, especially Jews and then also Negro slaves,
(3) at its end that of women.

Violent reactions against all three developments were typical in context, though different in intensity. Women seem to be, on the whole, the least hard-hit among the victims of these reactions, but also the least resistent.

In spite of this situation, a certain broadening of women's emancipation beyond the boundaries of its first homelands, seems to make itself felt in the late twentieth century. Notably in Scandinavia, the East Block countries and elsewhere, women take part in professions, which had been hitherto closed to them and the legal discrimination of unmarried mothers, or of married women, as against the legal position of their husbands, is gradually being reformed. In Switzerland women got the voting right in a plebiscite, held during February 1971. The new African states, India, Indonesia, Turkey and most of the Arab states have also substantially added to the strengthening of their womenfolk.

Women in many countries also begin to demand the actual application of the principle of equal pay for equal work, which has been conceded on paper, though scarcely in practice. Some women also are awakening to the realization of dangers and drawbacks, inherent in the inequality of their loosing the name identity at marriage (Ehrenfels, 1960 : 1, seq., Abeille, 1969 : 249, seq.). In the USSR, the CSSR and some other East Block countries women have got the right to keep their family name also after marriage and to transmit it to their children, provided the husband had at marriage agreed to take on his bride's family name. Nor are signs of a stirring in this respect lacking also elsewhere. Austrian career women achieved the right to their family name, also after marriage. Combined family names were frequently used in Switzerland, England and Spain and an arrangement, approximating this, exists in the form of the middle name in the USA. Similarly can German wives add their family name to that of their husbands. An Indian citizen of Bombay demanded that his mother's instead of his father's name should be entered in his passport, just as it had been entered in his voting papers.

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Though the Supreme Court decided against him, the moral merit of his demand remains.

At the International Workers Union Congress at Düsseldorf in the Federal Republic of Germany during September 1968, a German member narrated that Albanian women union-workers displayed photos on the bulletin board of communal dwellings, showing those of their husbands, who had helped their working wives by taking on occasional household chores or baby-sitting.

Such incidents need not be overlooked. They may be more than mere superficialities, if we can take them as indicative of a general trend.

If this is so, it may not be excluded that a certain revival of matrifocal elements in the Indian family could, under changed forms, make a new appearance in South Asia, where the response to general world developments is strong.

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VIBHŪTIBHŪṢAṆ BANERJĪ'S PATHER PĀÑCĀLĪ

BY

PETER GAEFFKE (Utrecht)

If strings of actions are regarded as the most important structural elements of a novel[1] it is difficult to maintain that Vibhūtibhūṣaṇ Banerjī's *Pather pāñcālī*[2] is one of the great novels of the 20th century. The book which is divided into three parts of respectively 6, 22 and 6 chapters, has no culminating point (perepetie) where, according to the theory of narratives, a cleverly built up tension relaxes and an unexpected solution of the complicated plot satisfies the reader. Banerjī's novel, however, consists of a string of isolated episodes and chapters which are connected by the progress of Time and by a perspective focussed on a small family of Bengali Brahmins.

The narrator compares the ceaseless, progressing Time with a dancing, restless and clear river which sweeps away the human beings 'like straw or the foam of waves' (ch. 1, p. 5), and already in the beginning of the novel many examples of the destroying power of Time occur. All the stories about Harihara's forefathers and his relatives of former generations end up with death and decay. The only character who remembers many of them and tells some of their stories is Indira Ṭhākruṇ, a wretched old Hindu widow who lives in a family almost strange to her; she is maltreated by the housewife, driven out of the house and dies pitiful surrounded by strangers. (ch. 6, p. 35f.). The youngest character, the boy Apu, experiences the world outside his village for the first time during a walk to the ruins of an abandoned indigo factory, and again the narrator points out the destructive power of Time by comparing the debris of the buildings with 'the skeleton of an enormous prehistoric beast of prey' over which 'the quiet winter afternoon, symbol of the progressing Time, spread a grey bedshed-like cover' (ch. 7, p. 45). The tombstone of the little son of the factory's last manager is the only intact witness of what was formerly the huge headquarter of the Bengal Indigo Concern. The 'foreign child' is forgotten like all the other figures of the past and while Time passes on more die and pass into the shadows of oblivion. So dies the girl Durgā (ch. 24) and a year later nobody thinks of her, except her brother Apu (ch. 28). Also Harihara dies in Benares (ch. 30) leaving behind his helpless widow and Apu, a boy of eleven.

1. E. Lämmert, *Bauformen des Erzählens*, Stuttgart 1955.
2. Kalikātā 1965 (10th ed.).

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In the destructive stream of Time actions of human beings do not develop as a continuous nexus of causes and results, but round certain points of coagulation to more or less independent sequences. Indications of the time at the beginning of most of the chapters, the fact that the chapters always start with something new and often with a summarized account of the immediately preceding time sharply cut limited units out of the continuous stream of Time, units, which end with a summing up of the previous narration, with a song, an image or with the departure of a character. The narrative time is thus divided into separate units which draw the attention of the reader to a particular day, a memorable event (e. g. Apu's first experiences at school, festivals, and other social events) or to a certain character of the novel. Not only the narrator uses his time in such a way but also the characters of the novel whenever they relate events of the past. Out of the oblivion of this past appear vividly remembered scenes so clearly as if they happened only the other day. Therefore, Indira Ṭhākruṇ not only sees but also hears the long-dead former inhabitants of the compound in front of her hut if only she shuts her eyes (ch. 1, p. 6). When she speaks about the death of her *kulīn*-husband which made her a child-widow she says : 'What an old story ! Everything is like a dream now, still I feel as if it was only of the other day' (ch. 3, p. 18).

The pungent actuality of passing events amidst an all-consuming Time is the most impressive characteristic of this narrative. We cannot compare it with the feeling of *vanitas* in baroque writings of Europe where we find Youth and Death rhetorically confronted in various allegorical disguises in order to build up a theatrical tension. For Banerjī oblivion and actuality do not exclude each other like contradictions. They are only different aspects of the events in the progressing Time. However, the events themselves are not at all affected by conditions of the human mind like oblivion or remembrance. There is the old story of Harihara's ancestors who were dacoits (thugs) and killed a Brahmin and his son for money. Immediately after this story the narrator relates how one year later the only son of the murderer is killed by a crocodile (ch. 2). Both the scenes are told with great imagination and evoke the sympathy of the readers. No doubt is left about place and surroundings, but the attention is concentrated on the Hinduistic implications of the crime of the thugs, (i. e. the killing of the only son who alone can perform the rites which keep the dead ancestors alive (ch. 2, p. 11f.)) and on the dreadful tension which accompanies the search of the lost son of the murderer along a lonely riverside at night (ch. 2, p. 12f.). From the narrator's view point the reader observes directly the working of karmic powers,

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which are accumulated by the depicted action of the thugs, forgotten afterwards like the not related time between the two events, but the result of the action is seen again quite clearly. In order to point out this hidden connection of the events the narrator does not digress into a realistic description of the killing by the thugs or the crocodile, nor does he try to establish a 'realistic' causal nexus between these two events.

Not directly, but in the words of some villagers : 'The Brahmin's curse fell upon the family' (ch. 2, p. 13), the narrator predicts future events. He foreshadows the miserable life of the Brahmin Harihara who does not find enough clients to support his family and, therefore, has to leave his ruined house in order to make a living as a teller of religious legends at the ghats of Benares. But there he dies soon.

His life is the social background of all the events in the progressing time of the story. The debasement of traditional learning, the rise of a westernized education, the eclipse of the feudal structure of the society and the rise of the Bengali middle class are the constituents of this social context, which caused poverty and loss of esteem of those Brahmins who like Harihara were not able to adjust to the change of times.

But the social problems which became the main field of interest for the so called realistic writers[1] are only casually hinted at in Banerjī's novel. He barely describes Harihara's activities and uses them only as circumstantial facts along with others in order to form the setting of the actions of the main characters. Thus, Harihara is very seldom seen from inside and if the narrator does so he tries to elucidate the background of the stories of others. Only in chapter 25 of the second book the narrator accompanies him constantly, but this is an exception because here the story needed a counterbalance after the very sentimental sequence of Durgā's death in chapter 24. Therefore, the narrator relates in a matter-of-fact style obviously in order to give not too much prominence to this character.

Less interested in social implications he tries to show how his wretched life follows a course which ultimately is determined by the actions of Harihara's forefathers, the thugs.

The turning away from the social problems of the time results in a concentration on an exceptional family. The common joint-family of Bengal gets only a subordinate position in the novel i.e. the main characters of the novel observe it, visit it sometimes and endure it by such visits. But they themselves form a small group consisting of Sarvajayā, the mother, and two

1. Cf. Premcand's *Godān*.

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children : Durgā, a girl, and Apu, a boy. Such a separation of epic characters from the background which could be expected normally cannot be explained by a want of time of narration, which naturally would only influence the structure of short stories. [1] On the contrary, by ommitting whole sections of the normal environment of Bengali life the narrator intended to gain space to depict the life of the two children who, compared with the great social problems involved in this novel, are only unimportant characters. It would be wrong to assume that the children should be understood as symbols of the decline of traditional Brahmanism nor are they depicted as victims of the sins of their forefathers. Surrounded by malicious and arrogant villagers, by the poverty at home and under the threat of karmic influences, they grow up happily like joyful life amidst the all-destroying Time.

If one looks for leitmotifs, i.e. commonly used means of characterization in a novel, one constantly comes across objects to play with, especially in the second book (ch. 7–28) which the author called significantly 'A flute made from a mango stone' *(ām-āñṭir bheñpu)*. The translators [2] changed this into 'Children make their own toys'. By doing so they also hinted at a leitmotif, however, their title sounds as if we should expect examples of the pedagogy of Fröbel. But here the toys are not implements for bodily and mental development in an educative process; they are to be taken in a wider sense, namely as signs which connect the world of Time with the time-less world of joy and which point in both these directions.

With the exception of ch. 25 (Harihara's search for work) from ch. 7 till ch. 28 plays of children are depicted. [3] In the course of the time of the narrative the toys and the manner of playing change but the significance of the leitmotifs remains the same. Unlike the parents to whom nature, human relations and ritual injunctions form a context of a miserable, suppressing life, the children by isolating parts of this context and using them as toys experience a world of joy and happiness.

The little white buds of the *oṛkalamī* creeper *(hibiscus rosa Sinensis, ipomoea reptans)* become nose-ornaments which fill Durgā's heart with happy excitement (ch. 9, p. 59ff). Shiny seeds of trees become Durgā's well kept possessions

1. Cf. P. Gaeffke, *Grundbegriffe moderner indischer Erzählkunst*. Leiden/Köln 1970.

2. Pather panchali, *Song of the Road, A Bengali Novel by Bibhutibhushan Banerji*, Translated into English by T. W. Clark and Tarapada Mukherji, London 1968. (only chapter 1–28).

3. With the following compare the remarks of R. Lonnoy, *The speaking tree*, London 1971 : 'The child (sc. in India) has few toys or tools with which to develop a confident relationship with its environment' etc. (p. 98).

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(ch. 8, p. 54) and the fruit of the mākāl creeper (citrullus colocynthis) is the most precious merchandise of a shop set up by the children (ch. 15, p. 134). For Apu a simple hare seems 'a thing that does not happen on earth' (ch. 7, p. 43). But such objects of the surrounding nature are not only used as simple toys and changed into elements of a magic world according to the view point of the children; there is also the magic of the objects themselves which opens new dimensions of a world quite different than the 'real' one. Not every stick, but only a particularly bent one turns out to be the magic wand with the help of which Apu can turn himself into a hero of the epic times (ch. 7, p. 159), and in the loneliness of the jungle he makes up various sorts of incidents so that others who caught him behaving like that could think he was mad (p. 160, cf. ch. 9. p. 58).

Durgā, six years older than Apu, and moreover a girl, experiences the magic of nature in quite a different way. When at the age of fourteen her hopes become directed towards her marriage she sees in the middle of the jungle a beetle, called *sudarśan,* which as her mother told her, was really a god. From him she expects all the luck she can dream of and so she prays to him with such devotion that the beetle 'was unable to fly away and could only move in circles' (ch. 17, p. 139).

In this manner certain sections of nature develop magic powers or become parts of peculiar rituals which lead the children to a world beyond the limits or Time and Space. In Apu's thoughts this world is symbolized in the distant banyan tree (ch. 9, p. 55), in the distant blue sky (ch. 9, p. 55) which he points out with his finger shouting : 'look, look there' (it is) (ch. 15, p. 117). Later on, this world gets clearer delineations, its lands become filled with the characters of old legends read by the child which thinks that everywhere there somebody is waiting for him (ch. 26, p. 256).

According to the narrator also Durgā knows to dream dreams *(svapna dekhita,* ch. 26, p. 257 *)*. But at the time when Apu's joy over the world in the distance becomes the vision of a future writer, Durgā was already dead. Her dreams, although evoked by similar objects as Apu's, were of a different nature. Hers is a strange connection with flowers, trees and animals which draw her into the jungle. Whenever she returns she brings with her fruits, shiny seeds or leaves. She knows all the places where mushrooms grow, and she is not in the least afraid of wild animals nor of the dangers of nature. This magic tie makes her forget that only the useless things are in the reach of everybody and that even mangoes thrown at the ground by a storm are in other's possession. Consequently, on many occasions Durgā clashes with the rights of property, especially of her rich relatives, not only about mangoes,

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but also about other fruits, a necklace of beads or a little golden jar. She takes them away as if they were her own and even if she is cruelly beaten she behaves so indifferently (ch. 20, p. 191; ch. 28, p. 273), as if the common rules of property seem not to be a part of her world.

Unlike an ordinary girl she wanders through the jungle and cares only for playing with the things she collected. When her mother scolds her and throws away her dollbox she feels deeply hurt but does not change and remains that strange girl till her early death. When Apu leaves his village for good one year after her death he has a vision of his sister standing under the rose-apple tree and staring after the train which takes him to Benares. This vision reminds the reader of a Yakṣiṇī, who is connected with a particular place or tree for ever. [1] .

Objects made by human hand and used as toys get also quite a special signification which is especially interesting to observe with the playing cards which Apu has got as a present from one of his father's clients. Neither is it a complete pack of cards nor does he, his sister or his mother know how to play. But Apu who can only remember scenes of utter humiliation his mother had to undergo whenever she tried to play with the villagers, takes the cards just in order to play for the sake of joy with his mother and his sister and not according to any rules (ch. 15, p. 127). Out of useless things, not hampered by regulations and the criticism of others develops thus a play for play's sake (ch. 15, p. 143) and each of the three players feels happy, even at the advantages of the opponent. In a similar manner hope and joy arise from a worthless piece of glass which the three believe to be a diamond (ch. 11), from the brightness of the ink, which Apu prepares for the manuscript of his first play (ch. 23) and also when an old Muslim lets Durgā have a look into his primitive projection apparatus which produces marvels Durgā is unable to decribe (ch. 23).

Finally, meaningful words and the sound of music surpass the boundaries of Time and Space. In an old book on magic Apu reads a spell which is said to make a man fly like a bird. With the knowledge of this formula he seriously hopes to cross over all the obstacles and reach his aim in the distance (ch. 18). However, the old myths prove to be a much more reliable means for him. When he personifies the great old heroes he feels himself taken to places far off and into quite a remote time but still all this happens now and here (ch. 9). The same he feels when his teacher recites some verses of the great epics. Their beauty becomes the *road* 'that went very far into the

1. Cf. S. K. Sen, *On Yakṣa* and *Yakṣa-worship*, in : Congratulatory Volume J. Gonda (to be published shortly).

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land of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, that land faraway, which came into his mind, whenever he looked at the branches at the top of the banyan tree' (ch. 13, p. 102f, see above p. 73). While listening to the stories of the old Vaiṣṇava teacher Narottama Das, Apu feels himself drifting on a 'subterranean river towards emancipation' from Time and Space (ch. 19, p. 181). One may remember also Apu's loss of notion of every other thing when he attends the performance of a *yātrā* play, although the narrator does not forget to mention that the Prince Ajaya of the drama is in fact a wretched little boy. But just such a contrast underlines the magical power of the *yātrā* play which takes Apu into a world beyond the everyday's reality.

A myth integrates also the utter desctruction of Harihara's house during a thunderstorm in the rainy season (ch. 24) into a conception of the universe which exists so well in its expanded beauty as also in the darkness of its annihilation. Taking his point of view at the side of Sarvajayā the narrator describes the pandemonium in nature as Śiva's dance of destruction, whose purpose is the transformation of this world into endless space at the end of each *yuga* (ch. 24, p. 223). After this night Durgā dies (p. 226), she who in the beginning of the book is regarded as Indīra Ṭhākruṇ's dead daughter reborn and back to life again. Besides the belief in reincarnation the myth of Śiva as a destructor, which is a part of the story of Durgā's death, makes the short life of the individual appear as an integral part of the unlimited universe of the Hindu cosmos. Here nothing is said about an entelechy of final happiness nor about a thread with final destruction. For the narrator life is part of the endless not necessarily successive but also simultaneous process of beautiful existence and dreadful extinction.

It is not my purpose to maintain that Banerjī used the form of a novel in order to propagate shivaitic doctrines. For him as an artist any motif might have been acceptable in order to depict the little world of the children as a much wider world and a more comprising one than that of their father, the village and the socio-historical setting. By doing so he did not confront the reader with a romantic seclusion of an escapist but he told us how playing children with their toys, their myths and their imagination conquer the restriction of a suppressing present, let Time recoil and make the limited human life part of an endless universe.

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THE ANIMAL IN INDIAN ART

BY

HERMANN GOETZ (Heidelberg)

In tropical countries where man has to live in contact with nature or in dwellings which open out into nature, the contact with the animal world is richer than in temperate climates. Hence Indian art is rich in representations of animals. On the other hand the number of animals which can be tamed to do work or at least be brought up to become trusted co-inhabitants is small. The number of wild animals whom man is afraid of or has to fight for his life or health or whom he hunts for meat or because they are dangerous to his economy, is also limited. Further the average men were interested in such animals whose special behaviour inspired sympathy or fear in them and whom they, therefore, elevated to gods or demons or their companions, particularly the nature-gods of Fertility, Spring and Death. Some of them thus became popular symbols and were related to deities and ideas with which they did not, at a first glance, appear to have anything in common. The different traditions of the peoples and religions of the Indian Sub-Continent and their differing temperament within different classes and times led to a highly diverse reaction to this development. This reaction ranged from most uninhibited and finest observation of nature to a total indifference and blindness towards nature.

However, the history of religion in India, a reflection of a complicated social history, is badly entangled and full of contradictions. The Vedic Religion of sacrifices of the Aryans was in contrast with the overwhelmingly matriarchal fertility-cults of the aboriginals. Buddhism and Jainism which were originally intellectual middle-class philosophies, adapted during their missionary activities common popular deities and popular fairy tales. The classical Hinduism developed out of a fusion of Vedic Gods and rituals and primitive fertility gods and mother-goddesses and their cults. Buddhism and Hinduism were influenced by fertility rituals, originally hostile to brahmins, namely Tantrism. Greek and Iranian cults, too, made their own contributions. Finally Islam came as the faith of the victors, though in many ways it adapted itself to the country. Then not only the foreigners but also the nobility and the rich citizens ignored many of the prejudices which governed the remaining circles of people. Thus concessions by the orthodoxy became necessary for which one had to invent one's own legends.

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The result was that the same animal species could appear in apparently most contradictory roles because these roles had originated from quite different layers of the Indian tradition. For example the pig is considered unclean not only by the Muslims but also by the Hindus. Still the boar appears as an incarnation of the God Vishnu and as a late Buddhist Sun-goddess. He is the animal featuring in the ritual hunts of the nobility in the Deccan and Rajasthan and was also the animal on the coat of arms of a number of important ruling families. The horse is a royal sacrificial animal, a noble animal for riding and is yoked to the carriage of Indra, the king of gods and of the Sun-god Surya. But it is also the form adopted by a wicked demoness (as our nightmare). The lion, originally a foreign symbol of royalty, became, as in Europe, the animal on the coat of arms of the native nobles and also the riding animal of the Goddess Durga (or the Tibetan Kali-Lhamo). Finally it also became the symbol of the peaceful Buddha, of the sympathetic saviour Avalokiteśvara and of the ascetic Jaina saint Mahavira.

The animals which we often come across are : 1. Insects : bees, butterflies; 2. Molluscs : snails; 3. Fishes; 4. Reptiles : lizards, snakes, tortoises, crocodiles; 5. Birds : eagles, falcons, vultures, owls, ravens, crows, fighting-cocks, hens, swans, geese, ducks, parrots, peacocks, herons, kokilas, hoopoes and turkey-cocks; 6. Animals of prey : lions, tigers, bears, panthers, cheetas, dogs, cats, ichneumons, rats; 7. Domestic animals : elephants, horses, camels, (Zebu)-oxen, sindhi-cattle, water-buffaloes, rams and goats; 8. other mammals : rhinoceros, nilgais, stags, does, antilopes, gazelles, jackals, pigs, mice; 9. Fable animals : garudas, kinnaris, griffins, dragons, Ganda-Berundas, vyalis, makaras, hippocamps, sphinxes, stag-sphinxes.

The zenith of animal representation was during the times when Indian culture and art rejuvenated itself and full of enthusiasm entered a completely new phase of development. These were the last few centuries before the birth of Christ as well as the 5th century in the North and the 7th in the South and finally the 16th–17th century in the South under the Vijayanagar kings (break-through of folk art in later Hindu culture) or under the great Moghul Emperors with a resonance at the Rajput courts of Rajasthan, Central India and the Himalayan foothills in the 16th–18th century. In all these cases the art emancipated itself from the bonds of traditionalism and admitted uninhibitedly and full of surprise the wonders of creation. It was in these blessed times that the artists, encouraged by their patrons, buried themselves, full of love, in the innumerable forms of animal life. However, occasionally one comes across a work where a representation of an actual experience breaks through the rigid bonds of conventions like a breath of fresh air.

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The first phase of animal representation is found in the reliefs of the Buddhist stupas of Bharhut and Sanchi. In Bharhut the representation is struggling to find form and is expressed clumsily while in Sanchi (end of 1st century B. C.) it is already depicting with surer hand the folk-tales on the stone-fences enclosing the dome which actually enshrines the relics. The tales are adapted for Buddhist propaganda in such a way that the hero either due to skill or cunning, or due to self-sacrifice, acquires moral merit which would lead to his rebirth as a Buddha (therefore Jataka = story of a previous birth). A number of these stories, however, deal with animals like elephants, stags, buffaloes, peacocks etc. One tells of an ape who bridged a river by hanging between two trees on either side of the river in order to enable his band to escape the hunters. He himself is, however, shot. Another tells of a leader of a herd of elephants who secures the life of his herd by offering himself to a pregnant queen who desires his six wonderful tusks. Even where the fairy tale is about ordinary mortals or demons, there is an attractive background of tame or wild animals, for example in the Jataka of the generous prince Vessantara; the hermitage scene unveils a naive rural community of man and his environment in which the animal is almost as important as the man, and is sometimes portrayed as a better being. The same is the case with the hunting friezes in the Jaina cave hermitages of Udaigiri in Orissa, in particular of the Rani-ka-Gumpha. Obviously with the spreading of urban culture, the emphasis on nature retreated into the background. The emphasis on nature is least apparent in the elegant Jataka reliefs (Chaddanta and Vessantara Jatakas) on the stupas of Amaravati (1st-2nd century), Nagarjunakonda (3rd century) and among others at the Eastern coast of Andhradeśa and in the wall paintings of the rock monasteries of Ajanta (5th–7th century). Here human life predominates, even outside in the gardens, and with it domestic and lap-animals. The birds are the only remnants of open nature.

In classical medieval Hinduism this uninhibited representation of nature allowed under the guise of religious or semi-religious themes, is more and more superseded by a rigid pedantic iconology of pictures of different gods and special myths which left little free play for the observation of nature. However, some of the most glorious representations of nature were made in the transition period (5th–8th century) before the new mythical visions were finally fixed. This was specially true of the South which was then ultimately opened to Hinduism. In the North they predominate in the popular terra-cotta reliefs of provincial temples (of Ahichhattra, Suratgarh, Rajghat, Paharpur etc.) and also on the walls of the beautiful Gupta temple of

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Nachna-Kuthara. In the South, there are the rock reliefs of Mamallapuram (near Madras) and those of the cave temples of Badami, Ellora and Elephanta (6th–8th century). In Mamallapuram, the old harbour of Kanchi (Conjeevaram), a rocky wall belonging to the earlier fortress of the harbour was transformed into an enormous relief (the so-called descent of the Ganges) which (according to the epic Kiratarjuniya of Bharavi) depicts God Śiva as he reveals himself in the primeaval forest to the hero Arjuna in the mask of an aboriginal hunter (kirata). Not only the adoring lower deities swarm round the hermitage of the hero Arjuna, but also families of elephants, stags, does, lions, apes, mice etc. A cat with its raised front paws is portrayed in the role of a pious ascetic while the mice hop around her hindpaws, unconcerned. There are a few smaller rocks in the neighbourhood which have been shaped in the form of lice-picking apes and resting does. A mutilated group of rocks rises from the sandy surface, south of the fortress. The bigger ones of these were chiseled into the "Five Pandava" temples and the smaller ones into the shapes of cattle, lions and elephants. In the cave-temples of Mamallapuram, Badami (then capital of the Chalukya Empire) and also of Ellora (the first capital of the Rastrakutas) and Elephanta (Gharapuri near Bombay), once capital of the Konkan, we still find innumerable lovely animal figures even though they are completely subordinated to the divine scenes. These animals are relegated to a narrow frieze at the base in the temples built in the middle ages. The elephants, lions, horses and camels sometimes appear in long rows and sometimes as parts of the armies marching and of processions. Herds of cows and different types of semi-demoniacal snakes, birds, fishes etc. are shown in the myth of the young shepherd God Śri Krishna. We know of a very few portrayals of nature belonging to the transitional period of the early Islam rule. One such is in a Vasanta Vilasa Ms (Baroda) where a lion is chasing a doe in the forest or where highly conventional fishes indicate a river.

It was only under the Moghul emperors (16th–18th century) that a rich representation of animals, based on a loving observation of nature, again unfolded itself. These conquerors, of Turkish origion, were used to a permanent living in the open. They loved to rest in gardens, their castles were semi-tent cities. They spent the greater part of their lives in field marches, inspection tours and hunts, and thereby developed a lively power of observation and knowledge of nature. The emperor Akbar (1556–1605) even elevated this observation of nature to a sort of confession of faith, a worship of the Glory of God in the wonders of his creation. His son Jahangir (1605–27) pursued this observation with an almost scientific curiosity. However, this interest

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diminished under the ceremonious Shahjahan (1628–58) and the bigotted Aurangzeb (1658–1707), but the love of gardens and tame luxury animals remained alive even under the later emperors who were no more than puppets in the hands of their grandees and seldom left their palaces.

Akbar's life obviously was so full of lightning field marches, battles, sieges, raids, executions and victory celebrations, as well as chases on horseback in between the marches that the number of actual illustrations of hunts belonging to his time is small. But all the illustrations in his annals, contemporary Persian and Hindu traditional epics and books of didactic fairy tales are full of searching observations of nature : lions and tigers, bears, rhinoceros (found quite often in those days), stags, does, gazelles, foxes, jackals, elephants, horses, apes and birds of many types, snakes, ants, etc. are illustrated as occupying dwelling places in the open or living in caves, chasing and being chased, fleeing in herds across the plains, flying in swarms through the air against the golden evening sky, taking part in fairy tales (like the faithful bear who kills his sleeping master with a stone in order to drive away the fly sitting on him). Then there are illustrations of hunters armed with either bows and cross bows or muskets or bow strings chasing the antelopes on horseback and fighting the lions on foot with a sword in one hand and a thick bandage around the other arm.

Under Jahangir the war scenes gave way to hunting scenes which were portrayed in more detail than was the case so far. Moreover, fairly large individual animal studies by such famous painters as Mansur, Nadir-uz-Zaman, Govardhan etc. were made for book miniatures. They worked minutely to every smallest detail of anatomy, to every hair and feather, to every line of a butterfly or of a wing of some bird. Among the animals shown were many foreign animals like musk-oxen, East-Asian does, turkeys and others which were presents from foreign monarchs. In addition, there were portraits of particularly valued riding horses, elephants, hunting falcons, fighter-cocks, parrots etc. The latter began to predominate since the middle of the 17th century. During the endless battles of Aurangzeb (who personally considered painting as idolatry) in the Deccan, illustrations of hunting scenes enjoyed a certain amount of popularity with the courtiers and officers. Here the types of animals became more and more conventional. The patrons were apparently more interested in their own portraits than in those of the wild beasts. A new development were pictures of night hunts where the wild beast was blinded with the help of search lights. The method was learnt apparently from the Bhils, the jungle inhabitants of Central India. But the "Bhil-hunts" depicted on many miniatures were no closer to ethnographical

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reality than the "Wild Men" of our Middle Ages or the shepherds of the Rococo.

The animal representation of the later Moghul period has influenced contemporary Hindu art which technically depended on the official art of this period but remained quite independent emotionally. This was particularly true of the Rajput courts. It too repeats the hunting scenes and portraits of valued favourite animals. Besides, the same style was used in religious and poetic texts which seemed to be naturalistic but in reality were full of mystic and erotic symbolism (for example herds of cows were shown as crowds of believers comparable to the sheep in Christian symbolism; peacocks appeared as announcers of rain, love and God Krishna; parrots etc.).

The boundary line between the wild and domestic animals remained vague as the same animals lived wild in the fields or jungles and were likewise associated with human beings: elephants, cattle, dogs and cats, falcons, parrots and other birds, even lions and cheetas. They must be tamed first and then held under constant control. Otherwise they become wild again, if nobody cares about them. This is the case even today with the old cows which no longer give milk but which nobody dares to kill and which, left to themselves, are a public nuisance. By living together with human beings the animals acquire a special purposefulness. The biggest impression is certainly made by the elephant who is shown as the riding animal of kings, generals, high priests betrothed couples, standard bearers, carriers of pictures of gods, as the representative of a military type (one of the four basic units of the old Indian army) and as a working animal. We also find him throughout the course of Indian art, on Buddhist, Jaina and Hindu monuments individually or as a part of all possible scenes ranging from daily life to parades and battles. In the Buddha legend, an elephant turned berserk bows before the kindness of the Exalted One. The armoured turrets which used to be carried on the back of the war elephants in Greek and Iranian art appear very seldom in Indian art, but are found on a few Greco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek medals. Even the Moghul Emperors preferred to give their battle orders sitting in open throne haudas (elephant saddles). They had to be visible inspite of the danger of being exposed to the arrows and granades of the enemy; otherwise their troops would have either fled or joined the enemy camp.

The horse was the second important riding animal. In ancient times, it made it possible that the chariots of the Vedic Aryan nobles could conquer India. It remained the royal animal and was sacrificed with most ceremonial ritual during the Aśvamedha Yajña performed by the "World Conqueror"

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(chakravartin). The Gupta Emperor Samudragupta even made a memorial statue of one of his sacrificial horses. Since the great invasion of the nomads in the centuries around the birth of Christ, the chariots, another of the four units of the traditional army, were superseded by cavalry corps. The Indian riding horses for the first time appeared on the gold coins of the Gupta Emperors. Horseman's art played an important role in the North–west under the Pratihara, Shahi and Chauhan kings, as is reflected on the coins. The commemorative slabs of the Rajputs, descendants of some medieval clan in Islamic times, mostly show the relief of a rider along with the women who had let themselves be burnt alive with his dead body. Perhaps the prototype of these columns came from Central Asia (Caucasus, Altai) and the horse representations sometimes remind us of those of the Chinese under the Han dynasty. As the Indian horses were gracefully built and were not suitable to carry heavily armed knights, horses from Central Asia and Arabia were imported in large numbers. This trade was completely in the hands of Arabs and Persians. We have a slab with the relief of a rider dressed in a coat of mail shirt belonging to the 8th–9th century (Jageśvar, Himalaya). From the 12th century men of high nobility wore plate armour of a type which was far superior to the standard Char–Aine of the 17th–18th century. Their horses, too, were dressed in plate armour (Somnathpur Temple, Kiradu commemorative slabs). Besides these, in the North also horses and ponies were popular. We find them not only on the temple friezes, but also as the riding animal of a lower Jaina Goddess Acchagupta (Akota bronze find). The cavalry played a deciding role in the battles of the Muslim dynasties of India and also in the Maratha battles of the 18th century. Consequently, horses became quite common in the later miniature paintings. For parade purposes they were richly painted like the elephants in colours of red, green and blue. The ladies of the harem, too, appear to have been excellent riders. We have enough miniatures of ladies as polo players and hunters controlling the horse with the skill of a cowboy.

Camels are far more rare in the Indian art. Being desert animals, they thrive only in the Thar of Rajasthan and in the bordering provinces of Sind, Punjab, Western Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat and Saurashtra. They are also found along the dry belt of land stretching through the high plateau of the Deccan east of the Western Ghats down to Mysore. Their figures are occasionally found on the socle friezes of the temples in Gujarat and Rajasthan. Camel riders are depicted more often on the commemorative slabs for dead people. They are also found on the throne terrace of the emperor of Vijayanagar (16th century) in Kanara (South Deccan) and on the Somnathpur Temple

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in Mysore. They are seldom seen on miniatures, the exceptions being the portraits of the princes of Bikaner, Jodhpur and Jaisalmer and a Bhagavata-Purana Ms. from Punjab (18th century). However, wagons pulled by camels are a rarity in art.

Oxen and buffaloes were for the middle class and the farmers what elephants and horses were for the nobility. Since the earliest times we come across the most important types of oxen, the Malwa-ox (Zebu) and the Sindhi-ox, both with fat humps. The former, of a gracefulness in comparison to which European bulls and cows look like stupid tramples, may to some extent explain the Indian worship of the "holy cow" and of the Nandi bull, the companion of the supreme God Śiva. He is, well fed, really a glorious animal with nice, intelligent eyes. The Sindhi ox with his huge, protruding horns, is likewise of an admirable breed. We have small clay figures not only of both types of oxen but also of the two-wheeled farm-carts pulled by them, from the ruins of the Indus culture at Mohenjo-Daro, Harappa, etc. The Sindhi ox is found even today. In Jataka scenes, we see oxen harnessed to the farmer's ploughs or grazing in the fields. Similar depictions are found on the medieval temples, particularly in the reliefs of Lord Krishna's youth and of the legend of the Jaina Tirthankara Neminath where the ox is yoked to his wedding chariot. When Neminath hears the fearful bellowing of the animals to be killed for the feast, he gets frightened of the marriage and at the last moment decides to become a monk and finally a holy man. In the late Gupta temple of Mandor, we find for the first time a Persian wheel which is turned by oxen (the animal figures are, unfortunately, badly damaged). All these motifs in a wider perspective once again appear in Hindu and Muslim miniature paintings : there are scenes of cattle in the stable, on the meadow, in the thin forest, drinking at the river, on the way home to the village, in a cloud of churned-up dust, being milked etc.

The water buffalo, shapeless and almost black, known even in the Pre-Aryan culture, plays a similar role. He has been appearing in the cult-representations since at least the first century but became popular in the daily scenes only in Islamic times, particularly in Rajput paintings and in terracotta reliefs of Bengal. There he has been shown in the meadows or buried upto the muzzle in water, often with a small heron on the back which is picking out the insects and worms nestled in his damp hard skin.

Sheep and goats, although quite frequent, play no important roles in the art. They may be seen grazing, tended by shepherd boys, in the Moghul miniatures belonging to the late 16th and early 17th century. These are to a great extent copies of Persian models. Finally, in the miniatures from

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the Punjab-Himalaya, Gaddi shepherds may be seen, sometimes playing the flute, wandering down the valleys with a large flock of sheep with fat tails. Some miniatures show sheep carrying little sacks in which salt, corn etc. were bartered between Tibet and India.

Finally come the "lap-animals" consisting of tame does and gazelles in the gardens of princesses, lap dogs, cats and parrots, unchained on the hand or the shoulder of their mistresses, or in cages shaped like a cheese-bell. Parrots (lovebirds as well as the bigger green ones), although mostly kept by the lower middle class of people, played a special role in the life of the ladies of the harem and courtesans which led them to become the symbol of Rati, the Hindu goddess of sensual pleasures.

Wild pigs and geese have played a great symbolic role in ancient art and literature. However, domestic geese can be authenticated in the late miniature paintings only. Mandarin ducks which were presents from abroad have been portrayed by the court painters of Jahangir. Rats, mice, snakes, toads and frogs were less popular domestic companions and cats and ichneumons were trained for fights. Since bee-farming is being introduced only now, wild honey was then exclusively eaten by jungle tribes; bees, therefore, occupy a very humble place in the religious and literary symbolism.

The princes formerly used elephants in tiger and lion hunts. This was because the elephants with their mighty bodies could not only break a way through the thickest forest but also offered a certain amount of protection to the hunters. These big cats, inspite of their great agility, could reach the haudas only with difficulty so that the hunter had enough time to finish off the attacking animal with a shot from close range. Quite often the elephants themselves intervened in the fight, holding the lion or the tiger with their trunks, flinging him to the ground and trampling on him. The elephants were also trained to lure and catch other wild elephants. While pictures showing hunting scenes are found more frequently, those showing catches are rare. They are mostly from Mysore and some from Burma. Some rulers kept tame lions and panthers in order to make an impression on the audience, for example in a miniature the Moghul emperor Jahangir is shown stroking the manes of two reclining lions on either side while listening to the speech of an ambassador. Cheetas, a particularly slim and quick species of big cats, were sent like hunting dogs to kill and retrieve wild animals. They had their own attendants and two-wheeled wagons in which they were driven to the hunting grounds.

Hunting dogs played a subordinate role. Their species is similar to the types represented on European medieval pictures and wall-hangings and

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to a certain extent to the present "Pie-dogs" (Paria dogs). When well kept and well fed, the Indian dog was also a beautiful and courageous animal. We even know of a few memorials—from pre-British times—which the princes erected for their faithful dogs. The dog of the noblest of the heroes, Yudhisthira in the national epic of the Mahabharata, was supposed to have been accepted in Heaven bodily together with his master (portrayed also in the illustrations of this popular myth). But generally the dogs were considered unclean and were merely tolerated. They were kept by the lowest castes only. The pie-dogs, therefore, are miserable half starved animals, cowards and aggressive when cornered.

Animal fights were a popular sport, mostly animal against animal. Fights between man and animal were only exceptional cases. Berserk elephants, tigers and lions were also employed as executioners of rebels and high ranking prisoners of war. Volunteers listed themselves to fight lions, partly on bets which were made sometimes between drunken mercenaries of the army, partly also in the hope of attracting the attention of the ruler and getting a post as officer. As may be expected such duels often ended in tragedies. However, a victor was felicitated like a successful Torero in Spain today, for example Sherafghan-Khan, the first husband of the famous Moghul empress Nurjahan. Already before the Emperor Jahangir became interested in Nurjahan he was involved in a conspiracy and executed, for suchlike dare-devils rarely have a long career. Risking everything they lost their lives in duels, in battles or in political intrigues. Similarly the lives of the Mahauts (attendants) of the elephants were endangered when the elephants, excited to the utmost and on heat, were put into the arena to fight each other or to fight lions and tigers. In the collision of the beasts they were easily flung down, trampled or torn to pieces. To help them to escape from the arena in an emergency, other men stood watch with fire brands and fire works on long poles in order to frighten the animals. Lions and tigers were also matched against buffaloes and bulls, and it was uncertain whether the great cat would kill the bull or would be taken by him on his horns, ripped up and trampled. Rams were made to run against each other, cocks without artificial spurs had to fight among themselves and ichneumons were made to attack cobras. However, such illustrations are found seldom. Cock fights which are a true popular passion in Indo-China and Indonesia, appear more as children's entertainment in India. Fights between the ichneumons and the snakes are a speciality of the snake charmers. Though modern tourists are quite familiar with them, in Indian art we come across them rarely and rather late (South Indian temple reliefs of the 17th century for example at Trivandrum).

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Animals play a far more important role in religious and secular symbolism. Almost all Hindu gods, at least in some of their revealed forms, have their origin in pre-Aryan jungle deities. All these gods have their accompanying or riding animals like in ancient Greece Zeus had the eagle, Athene the owl, Aphrodite the pigeon, or like many gods of the Orient. Quite often the prototypes of these gods came from very ancient times when the deity was experienced more in the animal than in the human form. Sometimes the animal head alone was left on the otherwise human form, as in ancient Egypt. For some gods, however, the relationship between them and their animals depended on their function, e.g. the Vedic king of heaven, Indra, appeared on an elephant, the riding animal of the kings; or Kalkin, the fighting savior, rides on a horse like a general. In the case of others, the relationship is more allegorical; e.g. the corpulent god of knowledge, Ganeśa, allows his elephant body to be carried by a tiny mouse, the allegory being that not only the elephant is clever and capable of overcoming all hindrances but the mouse, too, is nimble enough to nibble its way through everywhere. Similarly the Buddha or the Jaina World-teacher Mahavira are not lions; but the word of their teachings penetrates like the voice of the lion (sinhanada) which cannot be simply ignored. This symbolism, as it is the case also with us, penetrates worldly art as expression of human feelings. Flying geese indicate longing, peacock and parrots sensual love, does elegance, cows gentleness, Śiva's bull devotion, etc. This symbolism also led to the creation of mythical animals by means of the crossing of all possible creatures, such as were known in Near Eastern art, especially in Ancient Iran.

The main deities of Hinduism are the final product of a gradual assimilation of innumerable local cults which were identified with a Vedic "Aryan" god—hardly playing a role in today's cult practices—, his different aspects determining psychological or sectarian varieties, or as his incarnations in one of the successive, created worlds. The legends concerning the deities are often absurd. So are the explanations of adapted cult images, added later on and the myths invented for the purpose. However, in each case a certain basic idea predominates. Thus the bull, the fertile male animal, was the original concept of the highest God Śiva or Mahadeva of the Pre-Aryan pantheon. The God is also worshipped as a phallic ascetic or simply as a phallus (today however stripped of all its sexual characteristics). In this case the bull, Nandi, has become his riding or accompanying animal and his statue cowers before every sanctury of Śiva. Though the cow is sacred, it does not normally represent any deity. She became the image of the "Mother of the Universe" because of her importance to the national wealth

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(during a time when the country was not yet overpopulated) and because she was a means of payment to the Brahmin class. However, representations of the "divine cow" belong to the last centuries (specially in Maharashtra). Instead, Śiva's wife (creative power) Kali-Durga has a lion and sometimes a tiger as her riding animal. Originally the tiger must have been her riding animal because Kali-Durga is a goddess of the mountains and jungles. Sometimes she appears also as an owl, maina bird or a bee. But as the martial virgin, killer of Mahishasura (the water buffalo demon) she became the goddess of kings and her tiger (or rather the tigress) was superseded by the royal lion. The buffalo as the symbol of fertility, is the animal of the Pre-Aryan inhabitants of the South. In the long run Mahisha was acknowledged only as a demon (a Centaur or human figure with the head of a buffalo). On many South Indian reliefs the goddess, in a hieratic stern mood, is seen standing on the severed buffalo head of the demon. On most idols she is stepping down from her lion on the buffalo from the wound of whose neck the conquered demon escapes. On the other hand, Śiva in a wild dance is portrayed tearing an elephant demon to pieces and wrapping his skin round him. In a gracious posture Śiva and Parvati (i.e. the mountain goddess Kali-Durga) hold a small antelope in their hands or more correctly allow its hind legs to balance on their fingers. Kali (Chamunda) is surrounded by howling jackals when she appears in the fire of the cremation ground. The children of Śiva and of the great goddess are the six headed Karttikeya (Subrahmanya) with a peacock for his riding animal, and the elephant-headed Ganeśa or Ganapati (meaning the Master of Ganas, the jungle demons) with his mouse. God Śasa Ayyanar whose shrine in South India has a number of clay figures of horses, is associated with Subrahmanya.

In the system of Vaishnavism (of later Aryan origin), Vishnu, the god of heaven, is accompanied by the eagle Garuda (originally an independent Sun-God like the Egyptian Ra). In Indonesia he is still shown as a real bird. In India, however, he is represented as a (winged) human figure with the head of a bird or at least with a beak. Garuda is an enemy of all snakes. In hellenistic Gandhara art the Ganymede-motive is so altered that the beautiful cup-bearer of Zeus is replaced by a snake goddess desperately defending herself against Garuda. As the primeaval God, as the creator of Brahma, the actual creator of the world, Vishnu sleeps, between the cyclic appearance of the world, on Ananta, the snake of Eternity within the chaos. Vishnu's wife Śri-Laxmi, Goddess of wealth, fertility and luck stands or sits on a lotus often surrounded by other lotuses which carry elephants, pouring or sprinkling water on the head of the Goddess. This ceremony indicates

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her crowning as the Goddess of Heaven. The incarnations of Vishnu follow a sort of pre-conceived drawinistic principle of evolution. In the form of a fish the God fights the snail demon. As a tortoise, he enables "the churning of the primeaval ocean" by supporting the world-mountain Meru which is used as a twirling stick. As the primeaval boar (Adivaraha) he lifts the Goddess of the Earth, i.e. the dry land, from the primeaval swamp. As half human and half lion, he saves his devotee Prahlada from his Śaivite father Hiranyakaśipu (a sectarian legend with a political background, i.e. the liberation of North India from the Huns). As Rama, the hero of the popular epic Ramayana, he fights with the aid of an army of monkeys and bears (totems of jungle tribes) the demon-king Ravana of Lanka (later identified with Ceylon) who had abducted his wife Sita. His faithful follower, Hanuman, the king of the monkeys (grey-haired, black-faced species of apes) himself, became a popular deity as helper of the poor in distress who dare not take their humble requests to Rama, let alone Vishnu. As in one mighty leap he had brought, for the hero wounded in the battle, a mountain top of the Himalaya covered with healing plants, he is considered a protector from illness. A demon in the disguise of a golden doe had lured Rama away from Sita in order to deprive her of his protection. In the Middle Ages the Sun-God Surya merged with Vishnu (as Laxmi-Narayana) and emerged as Surya-Narayana. During the first eight centuries of the Christian Era, Surya, as a half Scythian warrior holding a lotus (symbol of life) and seated on a chariot drawn by seven horses (days of the world), enjoyed great popularity with the nobility (often descendants of foreign conquerors).

The gods of the original Vedic religion later played only subordinate roles as protectors of the eight directions of the horizon (Lokapalas or Parivara–devata). Those who did not have an accompanying animal were now assigned one. On the North side Soma (moon) and Kubera (demon king of the North, protector of the treasures of the earth) received a horse. On the North-East side Iśana or Rudra (a form of Śiva) and in the South Yama (God of Death) a bull; in the East Indra (king of the lowest heaven) the wonder elephant Airavata; in the South-East Agni (fire) a goat; Virupaksha (another form of Siva) in the South-West a demon; in the West Varuna (God of Water and Justice) a crocodile; in the North-West Vayu (Wind-God) an antelope. Brahma, the most ambitious of the Vedic gods, was degraded to the position of the priest of the pantheon and received a goose, his wife Saraswati (protectress of wisdom) a swan or a peacock. Saraswati was once the most important of a group of river goddesses. She too was superseded by the goddesses of the holy river Ganges (the Ganga) standing

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on a crocodile (Makara) and Yamuna (Jumna) standing on a tortoise. Crocodiles (gharial) and huge tortoises actually live in these rivers. In the course of time this symbolism has been transmitted also to other rivers like the Narmada, Krishna and Tungabhadra. Statues of Ganga and Yamuna have their honoured places on either side of the richly decorated entrance to the sanctuary in the temples.

The river goddessess belong to a relatively small number of predominantly lower, Pre-Aryan folk deities which were neither absorbed by the higher deities nor merged into the swarm of the divine crowds (Gandharvas and Kinnaris or Kimpurushas, i.e. Harpies) nor into the anonymous mass of earth and water deities. Another similar group is represented by the frightful "Mothers" whose circular temples in the lonely jungles witnessed human sacrifices and secret sexual rites. The Seven Mothers have their names derived from those of a number of higher Hindu gods, such as Indrani from Indra, Vaishnavi from Vishnu, Kaumari from Kumara = Karttikeya etc. and are accompanied by their animals or had themselves (in ancient times) animal heads. Another group of Eight Mothers, together with Rudra (a terrible form of Śiva), as the ninth formed a mystic cult circle, while a third group consisted of the Sixtyfour Yoginis.

The mass of old folk gods consisted of the Yakshas and Yakshis (dwarfs and elves, the latter often being Dryads), the Rakshasas and the Rakshasis (giants) and the Nagas and the Naginis (snakes and water nymphs). As deities of fertility they often appear as courting couples (mithuna). The Yakshas and the Yakshis had sometimes horse heads or were Centaurs. The origin of this feature is not clear as the Pre-Aryan inhabitants did not know horses. Perhaps the origin was the fear of the horse-carriages of the conquerors and later their riding horses. In scenes on Pre-Christian terracottas we find such horse-headed demonesses seducing men so as to misuse them sexually and then devour them. The last shrine dedicated to such a horse-headed deity is the wooden temple of Hirma Devi (the giantess Hidimba of the Mahabharata) built in the 16th century near Manali in Kulu. Today she is considered the Goddess of the river Beas and an incarnation of Kali. Possibly the rite of offering statues of horses to the many graves of obscure "Mohammedan Saints" (in most cases votives in the hope for children) may be a survival of a former Yakshi cult. Of the snake deities Cobras were considered water nymphs (Naga, Nagini) and mostly represented as beautiful girls (with the upper body of a snake above their heads) who like our nixies pulled young men into the water. The Nagarajas (King cobras) with five, seven or nine heads were supposed to be deities of rivers and lakes, but

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also of bad weather and protectors of wealth (dragons). The remaining snakes (sarp = serpens) were considered earth deities. In South India many cult stones (Nagakkals) are found dedicated to them. Both types of snakes form, individually or in loving embrace (Nagamithuna), the socle decorations of many temples. A particularly beautiful group is carved in the middle of the already mentioned relief "Descent of the Ganga" near Mamallapuram, in a rock crevice which changed into a water fall during the rainy season.

In the Buddhist art which bloomed before Hinduism, besides the Jataka illustrations and (often only indicated) scenes of the life of Buddha, the Nagas and the snakes play an important role and are depicted as deities converted to the "True Doctrine" and then devoted to its service. The Nagas can be recognised only by the snake head visible above the human head and the Yakshis by the dwarfs they stand on or by the trees in which they hang. Generally they are depicted as guardians or worshippers. During her conception the Buddha's mother dreamt of her son in the form of a white elephant. White elephants (Albinos) were consequently considered lucky, were sought after by the Buddhist kings and thus became the cause of bloody wars. The four carriage drives during which the Buddha experienced the suffering of the world and the happiness of the ascetic, were the cause of his renouncing the material world. He fled from his palace on horseback. A king cobra protected him during ascetic practices which preceded his enlightenment. He proclaimed his doctrine for the first time in the deer park of Sarnath near Benares. Some other animals (elephants, snakes etc.) are mentioned in various episodes during his wanderings as a beggar monk and as a preacher. At his death not only men but also animals, demons and gods grieved. According to the tradition of later Buddhism, the Prajnaparamita, "the Bible" of the Mahayana, was entrusted by Buddha to snake gods, until the Saint Nagarjuna recovered it in a reliquary from the depths of the sea and published it. Now the Buddha, mightier than the gods, was portrayed as sitting or standing on a big lotus which is supported by Nagarajas. Still later, particularly in Bengal, South-East Asia and East Asia, a super pantheon came into being which conceded a very humble place to the Hindu gods as the conquered or the servants; but it downgraded also Gautama Buddha as one among a swarm of earthly Buddhas above whom mystic Buddhas and Bodhisattvas and their wives and even a primeaval Buddha (Vajradhara) were raised. Below them a whole system of protectors of the religion and the world, of incarnated magic formulas, demons, devils etc. was developed. Some of these, apparently moulded after the images of Hindu gods, Iranian and jungle deities, were provided with animal heads or similar animals as

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companions. Thus Hayagriva and Paramaśva have horse heads (perhaps adopted from a Central Asian nomadic cult); the sun-Goddess Marichi (Aśokakanta) and the Goddess Vajravarahi have swine heads. Manjuśri sits on a lion, Samantabhadra on an elephant, Vajradharma Avalokiteśvara has a peacock, Nilakantha Avalokiteśvara two snakes, Simhanada Avalokiteśvara a lion, let alone the incorporated Hindu gods. The bird Garuda, holding snakes killed by him, crowns many pictures serving for cult and meditation purposes.

Similarly Jainism, another religion with ascetic and missionary tendencies (still flourishing in Rajasthan and quite important in Bihar and Kanara), has accommodated a number of animals in its iconography. To the twenty-four World Teachers (Tirthankaras, Jinas) whose life time is supposed to go back to the earliest ages known to astronomy, Jainism has alloted Yakshas and Yakshis as servants as well as Hindu Gods (Dikpalas) with their animals. Vardhamana Mahavira, the last Tirthankara, was a contemporary of the Buddha and has a lion as his emblem. His, perhaps historical, predecessor Parśvanatha has a cobra and the first (really mythical) Tirthankara Rishabhanatha or Adinath has a bull. Others (who are seldom cited), have an elephant, a horse, a buffalo, a rhinoceros, a boar, an antelope, goat, ape, falcon, dolphin and conch-shell. Naturally the Hindu gods too have animals assigned to them. It is said of Paraśvanatha that like the Buddha during his ascetic exercises he too was embraced by a protecting king cobra. Mahavira, the son of a respectable nobleman, was believed originally to have been conceived in the womb of a brahmin woman but later carried into the womb of his real mother by the animal headed Yaksha Naigamesha or Naigameshin.

The conch trumpet plays a significant role in the Indian cult; it is the same used by the Tritons of Greek mythology and even today by the fishermen on remote coasts of the Mediterranean. It is the very conch-shell the demon of which God Vishnu once fought during his incarnation as a fish. The behaviour of the crows was observed as omens and recorded in separate illustrated books (kakarutaśastra).

As in every culture, this symbolism had further effects on the literary metaphors (mentioned already in passing), particularly on those of erotic-lyrical style, on heraldry, and moreover, on the decorative motifs of buildings, furniture and objects of daily use. Erotic lyrics are found in the frescoes of the Buddhist cave monasteries of Bagh and Ajanta, only lightly concealed under the Jataka themes. In the temples they are found more in individual figures

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and ornamental motifs (tree-goddesses, divine nymphs, river goddesses, the gods of love and sex Kama and Rati, the beautiful aspects of Kali-Durga and Lakshmi, flower tendrils with dwarfs, monkeys or birds). In the later centuries suchlike erotic lyrical themes dominated a whole group of illustrated poems in Sanskrit, Hindi, Bengali, Oriya, Telugu, Kanarese, Tamil etc. which dealt partly with the Indian song of songs (Gitagovinda) and partly with the songs relating to the spring season (Vasantavilasa), all the seasons (Caturvarsha), months (Baramasa) and times of the day (Ragamala) or the different moods of the lovers and their beloveds (Nayikabheda). The animals play a special role in these poems, particularly the peacocks who with their cries announce the arrival of the rainy season or the time of love (May in our country). They are also the symbols of the God of Spring (Vasanta) and of Śri Krishna, the God of Divine Love. Herons, flying or nesting in the trees, symbolise similarly the rainy season; parrots and pigeons being in love; Kokilas longing; does, monkeys, cats and ants the playfulness of lap animals. In Islamic poetry the Kokila is replaced by the Bul-bul (nightingale). There we also come across the hoopoe, the mythical messenger between King Solomon and the Queen of Saba.

India has not known shield heraldry in the Western sense of the word; however, there existed a heraldry of ensigns, banners, state seals and coins. Ensigns were of the type once common in Ancient South West Asia and North Africa which continued to exist in a changed form in the signs of the Roman legion and in a diluted form in our procession banners. A rod, from which hung bands, carried a diagonal ledge which had a flat heraldic figure of the bird Garuda or the monkey Hanuman, of a lion, a bull, a boar, a doe, an antelope, peacock, fish etc. Naturally there were other symbols too : lotuses, "The Wheel of the Law" (for the Buddhist doctrine), stupas, the sun and the moon, gods and goddesses etc. The monumental pillars with statues, symbols or animals of gods and goddesses in front of the temples served the same purpose. The banners of the Moghul emperors and later those of the Nawabs of Oudh used for the decoration of their palaces in Lakhnau, were crowned with fish symbols. Very famous were the pillars of the Maurya Emperor Aśoka, which bore his engraved edicts; they were crowned by a bull, a lion or a group of lions (e. g. at Sarnath) or sometimes had an animal frieze on the abacus beneath the head of the column. However, on slabs, purely religious symbols were predominant, particularly Śiva's lingam. A small stele from Karvan (situated to the south of Baroda), shows a Near Eastern "tree of life" between two caricatured capricorns. The composition vaguely reminds us of Achamenian metal work and perhaps this stele is

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a remnant of the first invasion of the Scythians into Gujarat. Although horns of capricorns are found nailed unto the wall in many Kali temples in the Himalaya, they are never represented in Indian art. Many medieval steles show at the bottom a donkey covering a naked woman on her knees. This symbolises the punishment in hell for all those who are condemned for misusing or robbing pious donations. These animal symbols also appear on temple walls, stupa gates (at Sanchi, the peacocks of the Emperor Aśoka), city walls and gates of old Hindu cities, but still more frequently on buildings from Islamic times (lions, two lions with one head, double eagle, fabled animals, fishes).

We find the same symbols on the seals of the rings with which the ten thousands of copper plates engraved with documents on loans, tax exemption, land gifts and other affairs were held together. These plates drawn up by the rulers contain their genealogies interspersed with historical allusions; they are for us the most important source for nearly two thousand years of Indian history. As the number of symbols was limited, people varied them in individual details. The animals were shown in front view, right or left side views, lying, sitting or springing, with claws or wings drawn in or outstretched, with hair or feathers smooth or bristled up. These impressions seem to originate partly from the lids of the vessels and partly from the cords which once must have held together pieces of documents long fallen into decay. Among them we also find seals of princes, city administrators, generals, judges, tax officials, abbots etc. The seals themselves were carved out of semi-precious stones. They were very seldom (only under Western influence) made out of gold, silver or copper. Often they were mounted on rings. However, the most interesting were the Steatite seals of the Indus Valley culture (3000 to 1500 B. C.). They were square, as opposed to the round or oval seals of the historical period. A great majority of them show animals, predominatly Sindhi cattle, Zebus, rhinoceros, tigers, elephants, antelopes, crocodiles etc., probably with a religious meaning. Other seals represent scenes from religious cults and mythical figures. However, nothing conclusive can be said as the inscriptions on the seals still remain undeciphered inspite of numerous attempts at their interpretation.

Related to the seals are the coins, particularly beautiful in the time of the Indo-Greeks, Scythians, Parthians, Kushanas and the Guptas (around 200 B. C.–600 A. D.). They deteriorated quickly and again reached a high artistic level in Islamic times. In a period of only punchmarked money, a cock is already shown on the reverse side of a singular coin of Sophytes (Subhuti) who was a Satrap of Alexander in Punjab. Indian copies of Greek drachmas which were once prevalent in the whole of the Orient (up to South Arabia

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and the Characene i. e. lower Mesopotamia), were naturally embossed with the picture of an owl, the symbol of the goddess. Most of the Indo-Greek coins have Greek deities on their reverse but it is questionable how far they were actually meant to represent the Bactrian and Indian counterparts of these gods. Pictures of elephants and bulls appear on the seals of later Greek kinglets. These seals are partly square and similar to the lead coins of the Satavahana kings of the Deccan, on which also a horse transformed into a mythical creature (and named after the city Hippocura) is represented. Garuda is a common symbol of state among the Vaishnavite Gupta emperors. The picture of an emperor riding a horse (since Skandagupta) seemed to be inspired by an army reform while fighting the invasions of the dangerous nomads of Central Asia and those of a tiger fight by victories in Assam. Saśanka of Bengal, the fanatic champion of Saivaism in the 7th century, introduced Nandin, the bull of Śiva while Adi-Varaha Bhoja (9th century) of the Pratihara Dynasty introduced the bear incarnation of God Vishnu. On most of the Kushana and Gupta coins we come across animals only as companions of various deities. Most predominant is the bull (standing or sitting) of Śiva, the tiger of the Devi (Kali-Durga) and the peacock of Karttikeya (= Skanda, similarly on the coins of Skandagupta). During the period of the decay of numismatic art in the Middle Ages, the seals of the copper plate inscriptions were repeated on the coins. The Shahi Kings of East Afghanistan and of the Punjab added the figure of a rider to the pictures on their coins. The same was done by the Chauhans of Rajasthan. But not the Gupta coinage rather the Central Asian tradition set the model for the steles dedicated to the dead. The figure of a rider was even reproduced on the coins of the early Islamic conquerors and was only replaced in the 13th century by the characteristic Islamic type of coins embellished exclusively with inscriptions. Two exceptions to this have been discovered so far : the coins with a circle of zodiacal animal pictures of the great Moghul Jahangir (1605–27) which, of course, showed lion, bull, ram, fishes etc., and some coins of Tipu Sultan, the last Muslim ruler of Mysore, who loved to compare himself with a tiger and hence included this animal in his coinage.

We had already mentioned heraldic enblems on temples, pillars and fortresses. More important was this symbolism in architecture, royal furniture and handicrafts. This symbolism reflected on the one hand the sanctuaries as being magic symbolic images of the cosmos. On the other hand it justified the role of the sovereigns claiming to be not only the fictitious descendants of the gods and mythical heroes but also the representative of the cosmic order, the Chakravartin.

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If the sanctuaries, whether Buddhist, Jaina or Hindu, built in wood, clay, brick or stone, were supposed to be microcosms then it was logical that their structures had to conform to the macrocosm as imagined in that period, and the regions of the same had to be indicated through suitable statues, reliefs and paintings. Hence the later stupas and Hindu temples were shown as being borne by lions and/ or elephants whose bodies rose out of cavities in the floor or out of the base of the structures. Later, these were superseded by processions of lions, horses and elephants with or without riders. In other temples we find friezes of snakes, individually or in pairs representing the earth. Yakshas, human scenes, divine nymphs and gods are shown at a higher level. Subsequently, friezes of wild ducks (hamsa) surrounded the upper parts of the temples or palace walls. Goddesses of the holy rivers Ganga and Yamuna, rocking gently on their animals, kept watch at the entrance to the sanctuaries of the highest deity. In the earliest art sphinxes served as base of the pillars. In the Pallava temples of South India (7th-9th century) the pillars are borne by squatting lions (similar to the resting lions of the Romanesque art). On the capitals of these pillars we first see resting lions, sphinxes, or elephants, then enamoured popular godlings sitting on elephants, horses, lions, or lion and stag sphinxes or griffins. Later art had springing lions or mythic animals and semidivine riders sitting on the abacus as supports for the ceiling girders. In the South Indian architecture since the late 16th century, these rising animals (often bigger than life size) with their riders concealed the pillars in front of the gigantic blocks of stone which bore the immense weight of the massive stone slabs above the whole broad procession road. Pillars were connected by complicated arches, stylized flower wreaths growing out of the mouths of crocodiles and dissappearing into the mouths of demon masks (kirtimukha). Or the wreaths are transformed into snakes which a Garuda holds in his beak or at other places into crocodile's tails dissolving into luxuriant foliage. Even on temple towers we find the same springing lions.

Also the platform on which the sanctuary was placed, was guarded by snake-kings in all the variations from an indigenous royal figure with a many-headed Naga hood to (in Gandhara and Kashmir) the hellenistic sea dragons with or without human upper body. In Mamallapuram, the outer court of the "Beach-temple" is enclosed by a low wall crowned with the statues of resting bulls. Later, this frieze of bull statues was repeated on the high walls between the gigantic Gopurams (gates to the temple courtyard) and after that on the roofs of the entrance halls of the temples. Statues of (once seven) galloping horses (days of the week) and elephants stand in front of the Sun-

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Temple of Konarka, which (indicated by the reliefs of huge wheels) symbolises the chariot of God Surya.

A related symbolism applied to the thrones of the gods and rulers and to the chairs of persons of royal blood. The common man and even a nobleman, sat in the hot climate on the floor eventhough rugs, cushions or carpets might have been spread out. Chairs and thrones were really platforms on which one sat with one or both feet dangling or with feet folded under one's self. They were made with or without back-rest for one or more persons. The throne of the ruler was naturally the lion throne (Simhasana) with lion legs and lion heads on the hand rests. Until recently it was still quite common in the courts of the Maharajas and is substantially the same type which was used by the Pharaohs of Ancient Egypt. In case of the thrones of God Vishnu and also of those rulers who are considered to be incarnations of Vishnu (for example the King of Nepal), the legs are shaped as Garudas. In contrast, queens used a throne of wild geese flying out sidewards. The most famous is the peacock throne of the Moghul emperor Shahjahan which had on its canopy the figures of peacocks made of jewels. It is supposed to be standing today in the Gulistan palace of Tehran. However, only the gold and the jewels were derived from the throne of Shahjahan. The actual design is of the reign of Fathali Shah (around 1800) and the peacocks do no longer exist. The rear of a purely Indian throne consisted of two rods which held a halo (Prabha) crowned by an arch with a Kirtimukha-mask. Jutting out on both sides of the backrest of the throne there were figures of elephants, dragons, crocodiles and, lastly, rams and stags representing the symbols of earth, water and air meaning "the three worlds" of the Universe. The stag was originally a Central Asian symbol of Highness, so much so that in the finds of Noin Ula (Mongolia, 2nd century B. C.) even the harness of the royal horses had artificial stag horns. In Indian symbolism the stag quickly degenerated into a fabled animal. Stag feet (Plinius mentions them in India) continued to exist in architectural symbolism (for example at the Stupa of Sanchi) till the beginning of the Christian era.

In dresses and jewellery (which mostly developed from real flowers) animal symbolism is found less often than plant symbolism. The statue of a Bodhisattva from Takht-i-Bahi (Peshawar District) bears over the temples a crown with winged dragon figures. This might be of Greek or Iranian origin. Crownprinces and also Bodhisattvas sometimes wore a small lion skin or panther skin over the shoulder and two boar tusks as an ornament for the neck. In North-Western India, helmets in the shape of elephant and lion heads were

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popular. The Greek conqueror Demetrius (about 180 B.C.) wore a helmet made from an elephant head. Sword and dagger grips with animal heads are known to us of Moghul times. Cannons too were decorated with a dragon head (at the mouth or the tail-end) or sometimes their handles with crocodiles and fishes. Hamsa saris (about 6–10 meters of 1 meter wide cloth draped into a dress) in women's garments were very popular. In these, figures of wild geese in circles, squares, rhombuses or creepers were woven in gold or silver, as the wild goose was considered a symbol of female beauty. Her "waddling" was regarded to have similarity with the gait of such women whose legs and feet were weighed down with heavy ornamental rings. The swinging of the hips so caused was considered an erotic charm like the effect of high-heeled shoes today.

In this context something remains to be added about the fable animals. The Makara, a crocodile whose hind body dissolves into a wild design of feathers or foliage, is the most common. His snout often reminds us of the tusk of an elephant but the head and the upper body could easily be that of a capricorn or of an antelope (for example when the sign of the capricorn in the Zodiac is meant to be shown). A Vyali is a lion with the head of an elephant (often on pillars). We find sphinxes and griffins in all possible variations, particularly in pre-classical art. There are such with faces of lions, hawks and human beings, with horns of a capricorn, antelopes and stags with or without wings, with lion's feet or bird's claws, with the hind quarters of a mammal, a bird, a fish or in the form of a leaf design. On the Satavahana coins of the Deccan we find horses with the end of the tail formed into a dragon head. Ganda-Berunda is a special type of monster (particularly on the arms of pre-Islamic Deccan). He was a sort of a griffin who carried through the air elephants in both claws as if they were a small loot. Kimpurushas and Kinnaris were birds with human upper bodies considered music-loving inhabitants of paradise (identical with the real human inhabitants of the Kunawar region of the Western Himalayas). The Sun-Bird Garuda, the riding animal of Vishnu, is an eagle with a human head or alternately a winged human with the beak of a bird. Kirtimukha (shining face) is the mask of a demon found on temple walls, pillars, arches, columns, sometimes devilish and sometimes with the face of a dragon or a lion. In Indonesia (named Kalamukha), it is often shown with wings and reminds of the winged sun-disc of Ancient Egypt.

All this has not yet exhausted our theme. It would be worth the trouble to go deeper into all that loving observation of nature and all the symbolism

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which had once made Indian life rich and meaningful. Many traditional cultures, including ours, have been dying a slow death or carried on as ossefied, but sacred national tradition. Modern India has by and large little appreciation of nature. Only individual artists have felt and still feel the old deep-rooted affinity with nature as the great poet Rabindranath Tagore or the unique paintress Amrita Sher Gil who died young or the artist Shiavax Chavda.

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A NOTE ON ŚAṄKARA'S CONCEPTION OF MAN*

BY

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The fundamental question of anthropology is posed by Śaṅkara himself in the first prose chapter of his *Upadeśasāhasrī*. The prose chapters of the *Upadeśasāhasrī* present a course of instruction in Advaita Vedānta. The teacher begins by reminding his pupil of passages from the Upaniṣads and the *Bhagavadgītā* which express the identity of the individual self with the Supreme Self. Then, "after the pupil has learned from Scripture and Tradition[1] the characteristics of the Supreme Self and has thus become desirous to cross the ocean of transmigratory existence", the teacher asks him, "Who are you, my dear?"

If we transpose this question from the situation of a teacher instructing his pupil into the language of a solitary philosopher, it turns out to be the inquiry about the nature of man, that is to say, the basic question or starting point of anthropology.

The pupil's answer naturally refers to what for an Advaitist is the lower level of reality. He mentions his caste and lineage, he speaks about his previous life and about how he eventually became an ascetic who has come to receive instruction from his spiritual guide. The teacher is not satisfied. He points out that all that the pupil has said concerns his body alone. The body, however, is bound to perish. Yet the pupil desires to escape from transmigratory existence. How can he reach this goal if he is nothing but what he has replied in answer to his teacher's question ? "For, burnt to ashes on this side of the river, you cannot cross to the other side".

This part of the teacher's instruction already includes an essential part of Śaṅkara's — and general Advaitic — anthropology. In answering the ques-

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1. The terms "scripture" and "tradition" are only approximate renderings of the Indian *śruti* and *smṛti*. For the meaning of there terms the reader is referred to the handbooks on Hinduism. — The quotation is from *Upadeśasāhasrī* I, 9. I use the edition with English translation by Swāmi Jagadānanda (2nd ed., Mylapore, Madras, 1949). In some cases I adopt the Swami's translation, but for some passages, as in the one quoted here, I give my own translation. — An annotated German translation of the three prose chapters of the *Upadeśasāhasrī* was written by me and published by Ludwig Röhrscheid Verlag, Bonn, 1949.

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tion, What is man ?, the Advaitist thinks it inappropriate to refer to the body, to its faculties and potentialites, or to events in which it is involved.

Even the pupil who is receiving instruction from his teacher in the *Upadeśasāhasrī* has already realized this much. He draws a distinction between his ego and his body, in saying, "I am different from the body...I have entered it, like a bird its nest, on account of merit and demerit accruing from acts I did [in previous existences in transmigration] ... I have got tired of this going round and round in the wheel of transmigration, and have come to you, Sir, to put an end to this rotation"[1].

This implies, firstly, that the essential nature of man is that which is signified by the personal pronoun (I, thou, he); secondly, that the body is not included in man's essence but is accidental to it. The being that is denoted by the personal pronoun remains essentially the same while continually assuming, and giving up again, countless bodies in the course of beginningless transmigration. This abiding substance of the human person is also denoted by the word "self" (*ātman;* often more or less equivalent to what we call "soul"). That the self is the entity signified by the personal pronoun, especially that of the first person singular (*I*), was a doctrine of the Mīmāṃsā schools, and all schools of the Vedānta agreed with them on this point. The pupil who is speaking in the *Upadeśasāhasrī* apparently received previous training, not only in a theistic system but also in Mīmāṃsā; so he takes it for granted that "the self is the object of the notion 'I' *(ātmā ahaṃ-pratyaya-viṣayaḥ)*".

Regarding the nature of the self, however, the Vedānta differed considerably from the Mīmāṃsā. It is well known that the central tenet of the Advaita Vedānta affirms the unity of the self or, to put it in other terms, the identity of the individual self and the Supreme Self who is God. It is precisely this monistic doctrine that the pupil in the *Upadeśasāhasrī* finds hard to accept. Since we are here concerned with Śaṅkara's anthropology, we can to a large extent leave his monism out of account. We are all the more justified in doing so because Śaṅkara himself often reasoned about the self without employing any specifically monistic concept[2].

Vedāntic schools generally described the nature of the self by the triad *sat, cit, ānanda.* These three words signify Being, Spirit, and Bliss. The self is not characterized or qualified by being, spirit and bliss; rather, each of these terms

1. *Upad.* I. 12.

2. This is why I could discover a number of features common to Śaṅkara's concept of the Self and Max Scheler's notion of the Person. See my study "Die Idee der Person..." in *Studia Missionalia,* vol. 13, 1963, pp. 30–52.

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stands for the whole of the self's essence or substance or nature. Śaṅkara, however, hesitated to describe the self as being and bliss without restriction. This is one of the peculiarities that distinguish him from other teachers of his school[1]. According to Śaṅkara, the self is essentially Spirit. His conception of the spiritual self comes very close to the notion of person as evolved by some modern Western philosophers, especially Max Scheler. There are also some striking resemblances to St. Thomas' idea of *lumen intellectuale*[2].

Śaṅkara did not simply transmit the system of a school, adding a few arguments of his own; rather, his vision was focused mainly on vital problems of reality as such. In grappling with these problems he weighed the contributions of different schools of thought, utilizing whatever he found true or helpful and discarding what seemed to him to be futile. The Sānkhya as taught in the schools of Pātañjala Yoga, the Mīmāṃsā versions of Prabhākara and Kumārila, the radical monism and illusion of Gauḍapāda, and the moderate monism and illusionism of some Vedānta schools of his time — the latter difficult for us to discern but to some extent inferable from some passages of Śaṅkara's works —: all these schools or systems supplied him with conceptual tools. He utilized them all but committed himself to none of them exclusively. His only concern was the truth, the supreme expression of which he saw in the Upaniṣads.

The systems of Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika and Mīmāṃsā had evolved a concept, denoted by the word *ātman*, which more or less coincides with the notion of soul as current in Europe. In the Sānkhya school, however, of which the Pātañjala Yoga was a branch, there was no notion corresponding exactly to what we call "soul". What we, conventionally and traditionally, call *soul*, *anima*, *psyché*, belongs mainly to the domain of what the Sānkhya terms the inner Sense (*antaḥkaraṇa*, comprising several faculties), but partly to the domain of the *puruṣa*. *Puruṣa* literally means "man". There was an ancient belief that within man there lived another being, a little man. This little man, simply called *puruṣa*, was held to account for the fact of consciousness and life in a human being. It was thus quite natural that *puruṣa* became a word to denote the spiritul essence of man, once thinkers had discovered the spirit to be man's distinctive quality. Therefore, we may very well translate *puruṣa* by "the self". A frequent synonym for *puruṣa* is *ātman* (the latter word has a different

1, See my articles in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. 100, 1950, pp. 246–286 and in *Festschrift für E. Frauwallner, Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Süd- und Ostasiens*, vol. 12/13, 1968, pp. 119–148.

2. For a comparison with Scheler, see my article mentioned in footnote 2 p. 100; for a comparison with St. Thomas see my article "Essere e spirito nel Vedānta" in *Filosofia e Vita*, n.s. anno 10, no. 4, 1969, pp. 26–46.

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meaning here than in the Nyāya, Vaiśeṣika, and Mīmāṃsā). But the self as conceived by the Sānkhya was rather a lame being. There is a well known simile which compares the relation obtaining between the *puruṣa* and *prakṛti (materia prima)* to the relation existing between a lame man and a blind man who carries him. The first cannot walk, the second cannot see. Matter is blind, while the spirit can see but is unable to move. All psychic functions of man are processes occurring in the Inner Sense, which consists of subtle matter. They thus remain unconscious unless the *puruṣa* "sees" them. This is why the *puruṣa* is described as "the Seer" (*draṣṭṛ*).

This Sānkhya theory has one advantage over the traditional Western notion of soul. There is no split between the body and the soul, in so far as the soul is the Inner Sense. Both are conceived as a perfect unity. A number of Hindu legends and tales take it for granted that there are continuous passages between the psychic and the corporeal or material world. The Sānkhya thinkers recognized the truth implied in this popular belief and incorporated it into their system. But if there was no split between body and soul, there was the idea of another split which proved much more fatal than the differentiation of body and soul has ever been, granted that certain accusations of our day are to some extent justified. Man, according to the Sānkhya, is in reality no unity at all. It is only by delusion that we conceive the mind or the Inner Sense as possessing consciousness or man as a unified being guided by a spiritual soul. Final emancipation consists precisely in understanding that this idea of unity is illusory and in isolating the lame spirit *(puruṣa)* from blind matter. Liberation from transmigration *(mukti, mokṣa)* is isolation *(kaivalya)*.

The Vedānta theory of the self is greatly indebted to the Sānkhya. This holds also for Śaṅkara's version of the Vedānta. The principal texts in which he sets forth his doctrine of the self are the second prose chapter of his *Upadeśasāhasrī* and his commentary on *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad* 4, 3, 7. In both texts the monistic dogma is no essential part of the argumentation and is introduced, so to speak, only by way of an appendix. A few traits of the Sānkhya theory are retained, some are modified, while other ideas are added, partly in adaptation of doctrines of alien schools.

Śaṅkara retained the Sānkhya doctrine of the purely spiritual nature of the self. The functions or processes occurring in the psyche are the object of the self's "seeing". This seeing, however, is no action. Action involves change, but the self is immutable. If seen from a certain point of view, it seems that Śaṅkara's concept of the self differs from the Sānkhya only by his monism, which holds that there is but one self and that all plurality is an

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illusion, and by his rejection of the Sānkhya doctrine that the self "enjoys", i. e. experiences, objects. But this would be an inadequate perspective.

The Sānkhya taught that all things, including the psyche, exist "for the purpose" of the self. But this was understood in a rather narrow sense. In the unemancipated state, things are "for the purpose" of the self's "enjoyment", that is to say, the self, in "seeing" the things, produces experience. But such experience is only possible as long as man erroneously identifies his self with his psyche or Inner Sense. In a deeper sense, therefore, material things exist for the self's purpose in that they make possible its emancipation. Since the self is a "lame man", it cannot liberate itself. The "blind man" has to offer his help. Now the noblest thing made out of matter is the psyche or the Inner Sense. It is a process within the psyche which, when "seen" by the self, can result in the insight that spirit and matter, or more particularly the self and the psyche, are in reality absolutely distinct. This insight brings about the "isolation" of the self. It will not be embodied again. It ceases to transmigrate. Matter, and particularly the psyche, withdraws from it. The psyche merges into undifferentiated primary matter. Therefore, matter exists "for the purpose" of the self inasmuch as the subtle matter of the psyche is needed for bringing about the discernment that realizes the self's ultimate objective.

Śaṅkara gave a new orientation to this conception of "existing for the self's purpose". All that is non-spiritual is composed (*saṃhata*) and what is composed does not have the objective of its existence within itself. It exists for another, it is *parārtha*. The spirit or the self, on the other hand, is absolutely simple in its essence; consequently, it exists "for its own purpose", it is *svārtha*. The Sānkhya doctrine of matter's "existing for the self's purpose" was intended to explain the possibility of the *puruṣa's* isolation; Śaṅkara's reinterpretation made of it a very important metaphysical proposition, stating that all things are oriented or disposed to being known by the spirit and that freedom is a distinctive characteristic of the spirit. Monism is disregarded here to such an extent that, taken strictly, Śaṅkara's doctrine of all things existing for the sake of the spirit would be at variance with his monistic dogma.

According to the Sānkhya, the self "sees" things or, more exactly, the representations of things in the psyche. Now seeing presupposes light; one cannot see things in darkness. What entity supplies the light that enables the self to perceive objects ? The Sānkhya taught that the Inner Sense consists of the most subtle material substance (*sattva*) which is itself luminous. Thus the *puruṣa* is in need of matter's light if it is to perform its only function, which is seeing. This is certainly not a very convincing expression of the superiority of the spirit over matter. Śaṅkara, as we have already seen,

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discovered freedom as an essential trait of the spirit. This entailed a fresh approach to the problem that can be metaphorically formulated in the question, What is the light that enables the spirit to perceive objects ? In tackling this problem, he used a concept that the Prābhākara Mīmāṃsakas had adapted from Buddhist philosophy, but he expressed his solution in a term he took from an Upaniṣad text.

Buddhist philosophy taught that each consciousness-instant *(saṃvid)*, like a lamp, illuminates itself and its object. From this doctrine the Prābhākaras had taken over the view that knowledge as such is luminous. But since they, unlike the Buddhists, acknowledged the existence of an abiding self as the substratum or agent of knowledge, they modified the theory. Knowledge, they explained, illuminates or manifests not only itself and its object but also the self which is the knower. Śaṅkara, however, found that it is neither the Inner Sense nor the act of cognition which is self-luminous, but the self itself. It need hardly be stressed that this doctrine expressed the spiritual nature of the self with incomparably greater precision than the theories of the Sānkhya, the Buddhists and the Mīmāṃsakas had done. To express his doctrine of the self-luminosity of the self, Śaṅkara had recourse to a term he found in an Upaniṣad : *svayaṃjyotis* (Bṛh. 4, 3, 9). His choice of this term implicitly brings out his conviction that his doctrine was nothing but what was taught by the Veda.

Self-luminosity is a special aspect of the self's freedom. It implies that the self is known in a manner different from the way in which objects become known. The self is not an object. It is not necessary to prove, as the Sānkhya and the Nyāya had done, that the self exists. On the contrary, the self's luminosity is the presupposition for any object's being known. One may say in a paradox that the self is unknowable because it cannot become an object of knowledge, but it is at the same time better known than any object inasmuch as no object can be cognized save in the light of the self.

This light pervades the psyche, the senses and the body and thus binds into a unified whole the psycho-somatic complex of a human being. Since the self exists for its own sake while all the material constituents of man, including the psyche, exist for the self's sake, it is the self that makes all bodily and psychic functions possible. In this doctrine Śaṅkara not only — once more — seems to forget his monistic dogma but also, for once, gives a magnificent metaphysical explanation of the existential [1] unity of man. I deliberately use

1. The context shows that I am not using this word in the modish sense (in which it refers to the existence, misinterpreted as a strange sort of essence, of the human individual only). All real things *are*, that is, they *exist* or have existence, and "existential" means "of existence".

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the term "existential" unity, for Śaṅkara does not envisage man as a unity in essence or nature. Like the Sānkhya, he also affirms the split between the Self and the Inner Sense, and if he recognizes that man *exists* as a unity, his spirit-monism ultimately disparages existence as such.[1] Nevertheless, as long as he, facing reality, considers the existential unity of man, the restrictions and reservations which his monism and illusionism will ultimately bring in, remain out of account, even to the extent of being in some measure contradicted.

We may formulate Śaṅkara's doctrine in the proposition : Man exists as a unity by virtue of the spiritual self pervading all his bodily and psychic constituents and functions. "As an emerald or any other gem, dropped for testing into milk or a similar liquid, imparts its lustre to them, so does this luminous self, being finer than even the heart or intellect, unify and impart its lustre to the body and organs, including the intellect etc., although it is within the intellect; for these have varying degrees of fineness or grossness in a certain order, and the self is the innermost of them all."[2] The first constituent of man to catch the reflection of the light of the self is the intellect or intelligence *(buddhi)*. Next comes the mind *(manas)*. Both the intellect and the mind make up the Inner Sense which we may also call the Psyche. The interpenetration of the self's light with the intellect is so intimate that even wise men (*vivekinaḥ*) as a rule identify both and are unable to distinguish them. Next to the Inner Sense, and through the mediation of the intellect, the light of the self pervades the senses, the organs, and the whole body. That this pervasion establishes an existential unity is expressly indicated by Śaṅkara's use of the verb "to unify" (*ekī-kṛ*) in the passage quoted above.

Let us summarize Śaṅkara's theory. The spiritual self is essentially free (*svārtha*). It does not exist for the sake of things but things exist for its sake. An aspect of its freedom is its self-luminosity (*svayaṃjyotiṣṭva*). This involves self evidence (*svataḥsiddhatva*). Being luminous, the self not only "sees" objects but is itself the light in which objects become known. This implies that the self is never an object of cognition. It is the presupposition for things becoming objects of cognition. Neither can it, strictly speaking, be described as that which we call the subject of cognition. The subject of cognition is the self in its interpenetration with the Inner Sense or the psyche; this very interpenetration

1. See my article "Essere e spirito" (mentioned in footnote 2 p. 101), pp. 32 f. To the data considered there some striking passages from Śaṅkara's works can be added to show that existence ranks rather low in his system.

2. Śaṅkara's commentary on the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad*, 4,3,7. I have used, with one slight alteration, the translation of Swāmi Mādhavānanda (*The Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up. with the comm. of Śaṅkarācārya*, 3rd ed., Mayavati, Almora, 1950, p. 612).

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constitutes the Ego (*aham, ahaṃkartṛ*). The self pervades not only the psyche but all constituents of a human being. It thus binds these constituents together into a whole. It is the principle of existential unity in a human being.

This doctrine seems to me to be Śaṅkara's most noteworthy contribution to anthropology. I omit, therefore, doctrines that seem to be of minor philosophic relevance. Among these is, for instance, Śaṅkara's cosmogonical explanation of how the Spirit—here understood in a monistic sense—becomes united to individual bodies[1]. Another anthropological doctrine, apparently inherited or adapted from Vedānta tradition, concerns the *prāṇa* or *mukhya prāṇa* [2].

We must note, however, that in Śaṅkara's system monism and illusionism overshadow the theory of which a brief account has been given above. From the point of view of this monism and illusionism it makes no sense at all to speak of anthropology or of a conception of man. In other words, this conception is simply an illusion. Man's supreme objective consists precisely in his realizing that the Self is only one and that the interpenetration of the self with the psyche and the body as well as the multiplicity of selves and human beings is ultimately unreal. It is true that the road leading to this realization starts from the realm of illusion or unreality. This implies, for example, that, as long as a man has not formally become a homeless ascetic (*sannyāsin*), he has carefully to observe the code of the Hindu *dharma*, that even the passage to the state of a *sannyāsīn* is open only for men who have been born as Brāhmans, and that the doctrine of the unity of the Self may never be used for minimizing the importance of the Hindu social order. Yet it would be a gross misunderstanding to infer from all this that Advaitists held that there was a continuous passage from the contingent to the Absolute or anything like *analogia entis*. Nevertheless, in Śaṅkara's time Advaitism was still in the making and his monistic and illusionistic dogma could not paralyze his philosophical attention to reality. This is how it became possible for him to evolve the anthropological theory which I have attempted to delineate in the present article.

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1. *Upadeśasāharī* I, 18-23.

2. Partly treated by Paul Deussen in his work, *Das System des Vedānta*, Leipzig, 1883, pp. 350-368. Deussen took into account only Śaṅkara's *Brahmasūtrabhāṣya*. The other works of Śaṅkara, however, contain further material.

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HEGEL ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE HINDUS

BY

WILHELM HALBFASS (Göttingen)

G. W. F. Hegel's presentation and interpretation of Indian thought and culture did not meet with much interest, not to mention approval, from the side of modern Indological research. According to Helmuth von Glasenapp, Hegel was a "bookman", living in a world of abstractions, seeing everything through his own conceptual scheme, without any sympathetic understanding of heterogeneous ways of thinking. Besides, he was an extremely biassed Westerner—the "prototype of a Westerner" —, and unable to rise above the horizon of Occidental thought. "Therefore, whatever he knew to say about the Indian world, turned out to be very insufficient..." [1]

Indeed, Hegel's remarks on India and on Indian philosophy are "insufficient", and it is not the aim of the following comments to prove the contrary; it is, however, their aim to point out that these remarks are still instructive, and at least a stimulating provocation. — What Hegel has to say, is not the judgment of a historian, and it has not exclusively, not even primarily, to be assessed in terms of historical accuracy and neutrality. Hegel is a philosopher, and in and through his philosophy, he commits himself to non–neutrality (and is, indeed, often highly aggressive). We have to try to find out what his statements on Indian thought have to do with his philosophy. No doubt, they have much to do with his own philosophical thought; but this does certainly not imply that they are irrelevant, or that they are relevant only with regard to Hegel philology.

Our following comments are confined to Hegel's treatment of *Hindu* thought (in its philsophical implications) and do not take into consideration his view of *Buddhism;* his basis of factual knowledge was indeed much broader and better in the case of Hinduism and accordingly was a more fertile soil for his own philosophical reflections.

Hegel (1770–1831) was a contemporary and watchful witness of the beginnings of modern Indological research, of the awakening of a new enthusiasm for India's cultural heritage, of the first opening up of the original sources. While the Oriental interests of the 18th century, the age of Enlightenment, had mainly focussed on China, the late 18th and early 19th centuries began to discover India. The first translations of Sanskrit texts – Bhagavadgītā, transl.

1. Das Indienbild deutscher Denker (Stuttgart 1960), p. 49–40; 59.

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by Ch. Wilkins (1785); Hitopadeśa, also by Wilkins (1787); Śakuntalā. transl. by W. Jones (1789), not to mention the earlier, but less authentic Dutch resp. French version of Bhartṛhari's poems and the Bhāgavatapurāṇa — and the first reliable accounts of India's cultural achievements were enthusiastically welcomed by many Europeans, especially Germans. From the very beginning, the motivation of this interest in India was different from that of the earlier interest in China. For the philosophers and literati of the Enlightenment, China was relevant mainly from the viewpoint of religious, political and ethical alternatives to the Christian Occident, as example of a more wordly, more "humanistic" orientation. For the German Romanticists, on the other hand, *India* was nothing foreign or extraneous; it was a symbol of their own spiritual origin and homeland, their own forgotten depth : The "Eternal Orient" is the profundity of their own being; India is the "cradle of mankind". Novalis, Görres, occasionally Schelling, and especially Friedrich Schlegel, were the heralds of this romatic myth [1], which had been anticipated by the great pioneer of the romantic movement in Germany, J. G. Herder (1744-1803).— However, already in his famous book of 1808, "Über die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier", Friedrich Schlegel — who was *not*, as is often maintained, the *first* German who learnt Sanskrit [2] — bade farewell to his former enthusiasm. An heir, as it were, of this disenchantment, Friedrich's brother August Wilhelm became one of the founders of a more detached study of Indian culture and the first professor of Indian philology in Germany (Bonn 1818).

Impressive reminiscences of the romantic nostalgia for the Indian "homeland" are still found in Max Müller, the classic of 19th century Indology and himself son of a romantic poet. In his book "India—What Can It Teach Us ?" he says, with regard to the discovery of the Sanskrit language and of Indian culture : "It has added a new period to our historical consciousness, and revived the recollections of our childhood, which seemed to have vanished for ever. ...We all come from the East—all that we value most has come to us from the East, and in going to the East ...everybody ... ought to feel that he is going to his 'old home', full of memories, if only he can read them" [3].

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1. Cf. P. Th. Hoffmann, Der indische und der deutsche Geist von Herder bis zur Romantik (Diss. Tübingen 1915); also S. Sommerfeld, Indienschau und Indiendeutung romantischer Philosophen (Diss. Zürich 1943).

2. In his book of 1808, F. Schlegel himself enumerates some of his German predecessors, e.g. the Jesuit H. Roth, who studied Sanskrit already in the 17th century; he also mentions his own elder brother Karl August Schlegel who devoted himself to the study of Indian culture and died in Madras in 1789 (cf. Preface, p. XI-XIII).

3. India — What Can It Teach Us ? (London 1883) p. 29-30; 31.

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Authors like the Schlegel brothers and A. Schopenhauer expect from the European acquaintance with Indian thought a new Renaissance, a radical transformation of Europe's cultural orientation, as radical at least as that caused by the study of Greek texts in the 15th century. The French writer Edgar Quinet coins the slogan of the "Renaissance orientale" [1].

Hegel is one of the heirs, but at the same time the most rigorous critic of the romantic conception of India. For him, too, it is true that India, as a part of the Orient, is a land of "sunrise" and of early origins. But this does not mean to him that it is a legitimate target of enthusiasm or nostalgia. "Origin", "beginning", "childhood"—all this does not imply any lost and forgotten richness and perfection, but rather an imperfection, an absence of full maturity and development,—not a more, but a less.

Hegel's judgments on India, especially on Indian philosophy, are not as unbased and irresponsible as it appears in von Glasenapp's censure. He made full use of most of the translations and secondary sources to which he had access, and his knowledge of Asian matters, especially in the fields of religion and philosophy, was quite up to date in his days; and in more than one respect, it can even bear comparison with that of Schopenhauer (except, of course, for Buddhism). — His inital attitude towards India may have been a one-sided and exclusively negative response to the romantic mystification of India. In his earlier writings and lectures, India and China play no important part, or are explicitly excluded; only the Near East is always within his historical horizon. However, with the gradual growth of his knowledge, and with the publication of new and more reliable sources, his judgment became more differentiated and discriminating (though never really "fair" and "impartial"). In the heyday of his Berlin professorship (1818–1831), his treatment of the great Asian cultures — in his famous lectures on aesthetics, the philosophy of religion, the philosophy of history, and the history of philosophy — became more and more explicit, and India was eventually in the centre of his Oriental interests. In 1824, H. Th. Colebrook's first two essays "On the Philosophy of the Hindus" were published in the "Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society". According to Hegel's opinion — which in the meantime has been fully confirmed — the exploration of Indian philosophy was put on a new basis by these essays (dealing with Sāṃkhya and Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika). For Hegel, they were examples of that type of sober and sensible research which he regarded as an indispensable pre-requisite of philosophical interpretation and evaluation [2]. He also welcomed Wilhelm von Hum-

1. Cf. R. Schwab, La Renaissance orientale (Paris 1950).
2. Cf. G. d. Ph. I, p. 293 ff.

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boldt's essays on the Bhagavadgītā and replied to them in 1827 with two very extensive review articles in the "Jahrbücher für wissenschaftliche Kritik" — without, however, leaving any doubt regarding his highly critical attitude towards the Gītā itself. — Strangely enough. his works don't contain any explicit reference to the Oupnek'hat (Strasbourg 1801–1802), Anquetil-Duperron's Latin version of a Persian version of the Upaniṣads; Anquetil-Duperron is only mentioned as the pioneer explorer of the Zend-Avesta [1].

In Hegel's philosophy, all human endeavour for historical knowledge ultimately aims at the self-knowledge of the spirit, and that means : at *human* self-knowledge. Man's being and knowing is not immediate; it *is* only what it *has become* in man's history. "It is history that shows us not the becoming (i. e. growing) of alien things, but this our own becoming, the becoming of our knowledge" [2]. The past is the becoming, the growing of the present. The history of philosophy shows us the way which leads to our philosophical present. Its analysis is at the same time an analysis of the grades and elements that constitute our present being and knowing. Historical cognition makes explicit and "objectifies" what is already implicit and immanent in the present conditions of our being and consciousness — as the "interior determination and root of its existence" [3].

In and by the process and progress of historical development, what is prior is integrated in what is posterior. It is — in Hegel's suggestive and ambiguous terminology — "aufgehoben", i. e. cancelled, conserved and exalted all at once. And this progress implies — this is one of the most famous and most disputed principles of the whole system — that "the sequence of the systems of philosophy in history is the same as the sequence in the logical deduction of the conceptual determinations of the idea", and that consequently the "study of the history of philosophy is a study of philosophy itself" [4]. "Just as in the logical system of thought each of its formations has its position, at which alone it has its validity..., so every philosophy is a particular stage of development in the whole of the process, and it has its specified position at which it has its real value and meaning"[5].

The philosophy of the present has to preserve the thought of the past; it cannot return to it. There is no way back in history. "Therefore, there can-

1. Ph. d. W. II, p. 420. — On the development of Hegel's Oriental interests in general, cf. E. Schulin, Die weltgeschichtliche Erfassung des Orients bei Hegel und Ranke (Göttingen 1958).
2. G. d. Ph. I, p. 22.
3. G. d. Ph. I, p. 72.
4. G. d. Ph. I, p. 34–35.
5. G. d. Ph. I, p. 71–72.

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not be Platonists ... in our days" [1]. — The "height" and freedom of the present which enables us to survey and to assess preceding philosophies and to assign historical and systematic roles and positions to them, implies at the same time a subordination to our historical standpoint. The way of development leads from the simple and abstract and implicit to the more comprehensive, differentiated, determined, explicit. "What is at the beginning, is the most abstract, because it is at the beginning ..." [2]. Our reflection upon the past, its preservation in our present being and consciousness, implies that it is embodied in a more differentiated and comprehensive context. We cannot think the thoughts of the past in the same way they were thought in the past; we cannot abstract from the fact that we are on a certain historical level, and within a certain context of thought.

Hegel's scheme of the history of philosophy has been designed mainly with regard to the history of Occidental thought from Thales to Kant and to himself. The assumption of a plurality of independent or parallel streams of development was, however, out of question because of his concept of the "Weltgeist" and the unity of the world-historical process. Hence we have to ask: Where in this scheme has the East, and especially India, to be localized? According to Hegel, the East is essentially beginning, opening, introduction. The way of the "Weltgeist" leads from the East to the West, in such a manner, however, that the East remains as the constant counterpart of the West. Compared to the Occident, India is "static", in its general development as well as in its history of philosophy. It does not exhibit those driving forces of dialectical development which determine the course of European history from its Greek beginnings – culminating in the concrete autonomy of the individual, and its mediation with an objectified nature and society.

The inherent and distinctive principle of the Oriental stage of thought is, according to Hegel, its "substantiveness" or "substantiality"; that means, the unity of *one* underlying "substance" is the ultimate principle at this stage. Asian religions are essentially "religions of substance"; God is conceived as substance, i. e. as pure abstract being, *in* which, or *of* which, finite and particular beings are only modifications, unessential and without any dignity of their own.—Hinduism, one of these Asian religions, is, in Hegel's view, the most typical and most illustrative example of the "religions of substance". In his "Lectures on the Philosophy of Religion" ("Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion"), he discusses Hinduism (and Buddhism) from the

1. G. d. Ph. I, p. 72.
2. G. d. Ph. I, p. 69–70.

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standpoint of his concept of "religion of substance"; he enlarges upon elements and impulses, which he regards as (fruitless) germs of new developments, e. g. the idea of trimūrti, the "superficial personification" of brahman (*brahma*, neuter, becomes *brahmā*, masc.), and the entanglement of apparent polytheism and underlying pantheism. We have, however, to leave aside these partly grotesque, partly stimulating comments and have to focus on what Hegel himself regards as the philosophical quintessence of Hinduism and as the main target of his own attacks.

As in India philosophy was never *separated* from religion [1], the essential role of "substantiality" is effective also in Hindu philosophy. Substance, "substantiality"—that means indeterminate being-in-itself. Merely taken as such, it has no differentiations either within or without itself; it is the abstract One, the unity out of which everything arises, and in which it vanishes again.

This is what Hegel finds in the Indian conception of brahman : It is formless and indeterminate; it is unspeakable, and unthinkable. Every attempt to describe or to think it would lead to mere particulars and accidentals. Brahman is "pure being, pure universality, ...without any concrete determination in itself" [2], "eternal rest of being-in-itself" [3], "pure, indeterminate, unlimited abstraction", "spiritless substance" [4].

The Indian mind, transcending all particular needs and all spatio-temporal manifoldness, thus found its way to the One and the Universal, which is the true ground of religion and philosophy. (And, in the superiority of its abstractness, it is *apparently* even "more philosophical" than the Greek mind.) But it does not find its way back to the concreteness of the world; it does not bring about a mutual mediation, or reconciliation of the universal and the particular, the one and the many. There is an immense sublimity and grandeur in the idea of brahman–but it remains negative with regard to the particularities of the finite world, leaves them to indifference and emptiness, and as the 'naught of all finite" [5], the infinite, the One, the universal remains itself abstract. The undivided unity of brahman has no real connections with the multiplicity of the world; mutual negation is no positive connection or mediation. To be sure, there are many *assertions* concerning the relationship of the finite and the infinite, and the immanence of the one in the other; but

1. G. d. Ph. I, p. 289 f.
2. B. Schr., p. 138.
3. Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion, II/1 : Die Naturreligion. Ed. G. Lasson (Leipzig 1927), p. 149.
4. B. Schr., p. 123; Ph. d. W. II, p. 398.
5. B. Schr., p. 140.

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these assertions remain completely abstract, without explanatory functions, without concrete applicability, and are ultimately nothing but appeals to a mystical self-dissolution of thought." ... the One, just because it is entirely contentless and abstract, because it has not its particularizations in itself, lets them fall outside it, lets them escape in uncontrolled confusion" [1]. This leads to the other extreme of Indian thought — "the wildness of the unrestrained imagination" [2], a chaos of empty details, the world as God's dream, including the many transitory and finite "personal" deities of the Hindu pantheon.

Hegel specifies his characterization of the essentials of Hindu thought — it is also decisive for his interpretation of Indian art — with regard to the māyā doctrine of Vedānta (sc. Advaita; he did not know anything about other forms of Vedānta, and about classical Advaita nothing distinct and detailed); and especially in his critique of the Bhagavadgītā. The absolute, be it brahman, be it Kṛṣṇa, is either principle of an abstract (i. e., according to Hegel, "thoughtless") negation of the finite, or principle of an abstract combination of negation and identification, as in the Bhagavadgītā. The divine Being of the Gītā is discovered in all finite beings; it permeates them — but only as their indeterminate self-identity, as the "Being of their existence" [3], or rather as an identity, which does not even exclude non-being, which is "entity and non-entity" [4]. And it is not in them as the root and medium of their determinateness, concreteness, and the finite existences in their determinateness are not factors or constituents in, or of, the infinite absolute (and insofar, Hindu pantheism is said to be different from contemporary forms of pantheism, which Hegel rejects as well). The "immanence" of God in the world, and the "immanence" of the world in God, remains immanence of the abstract in the abstract. The abstract self-identity of the finite existences, with regard to which they are identical with the abstract Absolute — this identity remains different from their own determinate, concrete, actual existence; absolute abstract identity falls into absolute abstract difference [5].

Unity never becomes a principle of order in the manifoldness of the world, or a principle of explanation and comprehension of the finite and particular; there is nothing like the "saving of appearances", which is a basic idea, a real

1. W. T. Stace, The Philosophy of Hegel (London 1924), p. 496.
2. Cf., e.g., Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion, II/1 : Die Naturreligion. Ed. G. Lasson (Leipzig 1927), p. 138–139 (n. 1); 149 ff.; G. d. Ph. I, p. 289 ff.; 335; Ph. d. W. II, p. 392 ff.
3. B. Schr., p. 141.
4. Cf., B. Schr., p. 140–141.
5. Cf., B. Schr., p. 110–111; 134; 140 ff.

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leitmotiv of the history of science and philosophy in the West. The One remains principle of the "contempt of the finite" [1], of the retreat of thought from the concrete. — What appears as the depth of Indian thought, is at the same time its main defect: The finite and particular has not been transcended, it has not even really been discovered. This has been accomplished only by the "hard European intellect" [2]. Pure indeterminate being, according to Hegel's "Science of Logic", is just as good as pure nothing.

The full and concrete reach and relevance of these considerations becomes obvious in their application to the theme of the human individual and its freedom. "World history ... shows the development of the spirit's consciousness of its freedom, and of the realization which is brought forth by such consciousness" [3]. Philosophy in Hegel's understanding cannot be separated from the development to the notion of human freedom and its political and social actualization. Human freedom, however, is autonomy of the person, the individual subject. The subject, the individual ego, knows, wills itself in its particularity and preserves this particularity against the Substance, being-*in*-itself, nature: This directedness towards itself constitutes its personality.

In India, Hegel says, the individual in its subjective freedom has "no value in itself" [4] It belongs to the world, which is a "transitory manifestation of the One. ... Man ... has not been posited" [5]. Instead of unfolding and fulfilling its individuality, particularity, the individual tries to subdue and to overcome it. The aim of philosophical thought and religious practice is self-identification with brahman, return to "sub-stantiality", and that means self-emptying, self-extinction. "Thus the state aimed at is an emotionless, will-less, deedless pure abstraction of mind, in which all positive content of consciousness is superseded. God is here a pure abstraction, and man, in becoming the same abstraction, becomes identical with God ··· " [6] (According to Hegel, the germs of more "personalistic" developments, which he finds in Hinduism, remain necessarily fruitless in this intellectual climate.) Ātman, as the exaltation of pure abstract subjectivity, is identified with brahman, pure abstract substance-ness and objectivity.

What the Indians call mokṣa, is, therefore, only an abstract and negative

1. G. d. Ph. I, p. 332.
2. G. d. Ph. I, p. 335.
3. Ph. d. W. I, p. 167.
4. G. d. Ph. I, p. 267.
5. Ph. d. W. II, p. 399.
6. W. T. Stace, The Philosophy of Hegel (London 1924), p. 497; cf. Hegel, e.g G. d. Ph. I, p. 293; 331; Ph. d. W. I, p. 176; II, p. 406 ff.

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liberation. It is a withdrawal from all the contexts which are the pre-requisite of subjective freedom and autonomy on the one hand, and of the objectivity of science on the other hand. While it claims to transcend all intersubjectivity, all spatio-temporal appearances, it actually denies the mediation, mediatedness, which constitutes human being. It tries to return to "absolute immediacy", which is "pure emptiness of oneself in oneself" [1]. This is neither an aim of theory or knowledge, nor a purpose of action — Hegel criticizes the devaluation of purposeful action in the Gītā — ; it is a mere state of being, outside all contexts of knowing and acting, and attainable only in the loneliness of self-manipulation, the technique of "liberation", as taught and practised in Yoga [2].

Without the explicit conception of the subject as person, there is, in Hegel's opinion, no real basis for philosophy in its full sense, and no starting-point for the unfolding of historical teleology. "The real philosophy begins only in the Occident. Here the spirit goes down into itself, immerses itself into itself, posits itself as free, is free for itself; and only here philosophy can exist; and hence we have free constitutions only in the Occident" [3].

According to Hegel, the philosophical concept and consciousness of freedom and the political actuality of freedom cannot be isolated from each other — one of the reasons, why he often illustrates his discussion of Indian thought with references to actual social and political life in India. The development of Occidental history, from the Greek and early Christian world to the age of the French Revolution, is the development and self-organization of the substance as *subject*, and that implies : of the human person in the self-consciousness of its freedom. Philosophy is the mirror and the motor of this process, which is a process of concrete mediation of the universal and the particular. The particular and finite holds its own in the universal and absolute; and the absolute descends into the finite. The absolute becomes present and self-conscious as subject, as spirit, as man. The comprehension of the absolute coincides with human self-comprehension, self-realization, autonomy; and the work and self-presentation of man coincides with the self-presentation, the "phenomenology" of the absolute as spirit. Man becomes "present spirit" [4], has

1. B. Schr., p. 133.
2. Cf. B. Schr., p. 90 ff.; 95 ff.
3. G. d. Ph. I, p. 232.
4. Cf. Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion, III/1 : Die absolute Religion. Ed. G. Lasson (Leipzig 1929), p. 172. — The "Jubilee Edition", ed. H. Glockner, vol. XV, p. 307, has "present God" (präsenter Gott) instead of "present spirit" (präsenter Geist); cf. also Werke, Vollständige Ausgabe, vol. XII (Berlin 1832); here we read "der Mensch" instead of "das Menschliche" (p. 253).

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to fulfill the purpose of the absolute in his own worldly presence. — Progress of the consciousness of freedom — that means increasing presence of man in human affairs, in the constitution and comprehension of history. (At this point, Karl Marx takes over Hegel's heritage.)—Philosophy has to do with the present, with *this* world. "Hic Rhodus, hic saltus ..."; it has to recognize its own element, reason, "as the rose within the cross of the present and thus to enjoy this present". [1]

Consciousness of freedom, human autonomy — this is what matters in history, and also in the history of philosophy. If we apply this standard, some alleged parallels between Eastern and Western thought become null and void. If such parallelizations neglect "the difference which is related to the self-consciousness of freedom", they "keep to abstract categories only" [2], and with regard to such abstract categories, such as the One, or unity, it is not difficult to find similarities everywhere and to equate, e. g., "Chinese, Indian, Eleatic, Pythagorean, Spinozistic, or even all modern metaphysics. ... Such equating, however, proves that it knows only of abstract unity, and in judging thus of philosophy, is ignorant of what constitutes the interest of philosophy". [3]

The "interest of Philosophy" is the *content* of the unity, the *concreteness* of the universal and absolute, the *subjectivity* of the substance, the *actuality* of autonomy in this human world. Seen from this standpoint, which, according to Hegel, was arrived at, or aimed at, only in the Occident, Indian thought appears usually as a lower, and merely preparatory, stage. However, it is not in general subordinated to Western thought. It is not simply over and done with. It has and preserves the function of a corrective and compensation with regard to a certain one-sidedness of European thought. This one-sidedness, which is espacially prevalent in modern times, is the *excess* of subjectivity, of anthropocentrism, which tears itself away from the bearing ground and context of the whole and loses itself in the vanity of an abstract self-affirmation. "The extreme, the one-sidedness of European thought embodies all the accidentalness of will, representation and thought. Insofar, it is the extreme of vanity. Contrary to this vanity, this one-sided subjectivity, solid unity is prevalent in the Orient. In it, there is no vanity. It is the ground in which all vanity is absorbed". It is important for us to know about the eternal unity of this ground, to "bathe", to "purify" our consciousness in it, to "drown that vanity with all its cleverness in it". [4] — There is no doubt that these remarks contain a passing shot at

1. Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts. Ed. J. Hoffmeister (Hamburg 1955), p. 16.
2. Ph. d. W. I, p. 170; cf. G. d. Ph. I, p. 264.
3. Ph. d. W. I, p. 175.
4. G. d. Ph. I, p. 287; 334.

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some of Hegel's contemporaries, especially Friedrich Schlegel, whose theory of "irony" is, Hegel's favourite example of bad and abstract subjectivity. — Subjectivity, which is only the negative counterpart of abstract "substantiveness". We may add here that Hegel's interpretation of Indian thought in general contains numerous implicit and explicit references to contemporary European thought; the Indians are not the only target of his criticism of Indian thought (especially regarding such topics as "immediacy", "abstract identity", "indeterminateness"). [1]

Hegel's remarks on the "extreme of vanity" in modern European thought do not imply serious and general doubts concerning the direction of the Occidental development and the destination of Western philosophy in general. He never loses his Occidental and anthropocentric self-confidence. This self-confidence has, no doubt, to do with Europe's historical position in Hegel's days. Europe appears as the peak of progress; it claims intellectual and political superiority all over the world, and tries to realize this claim in its colonial activities. Occasionally, Hegel himself appears as a philosophical herald of these political activities [2]. — Hegel is a European, a Westerner of the beginning of the 19th century, and his dictum that "everyone is the son of his time" [3] has to be applied to himself and to his image of India, too, — both in its negative and positive consequences. He is very well aware of his historical standpoint and of the historical conditions of his thought; but this very awareness, the self-consciousness of this awareness, confirms him in his self-confidence, the confidence in his own height of reflexion. This, however, is again symptomatic of his time.

That Hegel is "a son of his time", has, of course, the obvious and exoteric implicaton that he was dependent on the factual amount of information on Indian thought which was available to him; and this amount was, indeed, not sufficient for a true assessment of the systematic manifoldness and historical variability of Indian philosophy. He had no idea of the high level of reflection and argumentation, of critical response to other positions, of conceptual distinctions, as we find it, e. g., in Śaṅkara or Kumārila (not to mention the great Buddhist philosophers of whom he was completely ignorant). — It should, however, be mentioned that Hegel, after having read Colebrooke's two essays of 1824, supplemented his previously more general remarks on Indian philosophy with a detailed survey of Sāṃkhya and Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika

1. Cf. Vorlesungen über die Philosophie der Religion, II/1 : Die Naturreligion. Ed. G. Lasson (Leipzig 1927), p. 167 ff.
2. Cf. Ph. d. W. II, p. 365.
3. Cf. above, n. 34.

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(first in his lectures of 1825/26, and then in all following lectures on the history of philosophy). He appreciates the "high standard of intellectuality" [1] in these systems, accentuates the detailedness of "logical forms" in Nyāya [2] and the importance of the Sāṃkhya doctrine of the three guṇas. [3] More than once, he warns us of precipitate generalizations, of alleged statements of the essence of Indian religion and philosophy, and of an uncritical application of Western categories, and he pleads for an unprejudiced documentation of "the peculiarity of the Indian mind". [4] Nonetheless, he always sticks to his central thesis that the Indian standpoint is essentially the standpoint of "substance". — Indeed, there is a plurality of eternal "selves" (puruṣa, ātman) in Sāṃkhya and Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika; but measured against Hegel's concept of "subject" and "person", this plurality remains abstract and a mere multiplication of the principle of "substance".

In the meantime, much has been done regarding the exploration of India's philosophical tradition — not only by Western scholars, but more and more by the Indians themselves, who have learnt to explain their heritage in Western terms and to present it to a Western public. This, of course, presupposes a previous access to, or adoption of, Western ways of thought and expression.

Hegelian thought plays a considerable part in this process of adoption and mediation, mainly through the intermediary of the so-called English school of Neo-Hegelianism which was flourishing in the last decades of the 19th and the first decades of the 20th century, without, however, doing justice to the true dimensions of Hegel's philosophy. Even now, F. H. Bradley is one of the favourite Western philosophers in India and one of the landmarks of East-West comparisons. In general, Neo-Hegelianism has been a major factor of India's philosophical self-presentation and self-assessment, especially with regard to the Advaita Vedānta tradition.

A remarkable example of a critical statement on Hegel and Hegelianism in the light of Advaita Vedānta is P. T. Raju's book "Thought and Reality" (London 1937). This book is instructive not only with regard to what it says, but also with regard to what it leaves out. The context of discussion is mainly that of an unhistorical metaphysics and theory (or better "non-theory") of the "Absolute", with no reference at all to the concrete historical and political dimensions of Hegel's thought. This has, of course, to do with the fact that Raju, too, knows Hegel mainly through the intermediary of the "Neo-Hegelians"

1. G. d. Ph. I. p. 331.
2. G. d. Ph. I, p. 330.
3. G. d. Ph. I, p. 312.
4. B. Schr., p. 153; cf. p. 87–88.

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and is, indeed, often more explicitly concerned with the Hegelians than with Hegel himself.

On the whole, Raju pleads the cause of an "indeterminate", incomprehensible, unworldly "Absolute" against the self-confidence of human reason and the anthropocentrism of human self-realization. One of the central objections against Hegel is that he tries to comprehend the "Absolute", i.e. that whereof human comprehension is not even a feeble copy. Human thought and action are confined to the realm of māyā, and this is neither a realm of being, nor can it become the basis or the context of a process of true self-realization. Man, world and history are contradictory in themselves. Māyā is the "principle of inexplicability", [1] and it is the principle of this world, which is neither a world of being nor of non-being. Nobody, according to Raju, can ultimately avoid reference to inexplicability, not even Hegel, though Advaita Vedānta is much more explicit and consequent in this respect.

In a critical discussion of concepts like "process", "negation", "difference", "coherence", Raju—following the tradition of Vedāntic vitaṇḍāvādins on the line of Śrīharṣa—tries to demonstrate that the world and human reason collapse in contradictions and cannot do justice to the depth of the word "being"; their "being" is only appearance, and can in no way touch or affect "the eternal perfection of the Absolute". [2]

The merely negative insight into the contradictoriness of the world has to give way to the readiness for non-rational, supra-rational experiences and intuitions — for an immediate identification with the "indeterminate" and unthinkable "Absolute". We have to be ready not for a mediation and reconciliation between the infinite and the finite world, between subject, object and substance, but for an immediacy beyond the world, for a state of being in which our questions have not been answered, but have simply vanished, have become transparent as being due to māyā — in which "thought itself will disappear". [3] There is no self-realization which is not at the same time self-loss from the standpoint of the world. "Our view of the Absolute, therefore, is a form of mysticism". [4]

It is obvious that Raju's book could easily be interpreted as a confirmation of Hegel's view of Indian thought: Hegel could repeat his central charge of "abstractness" of the "Absolute", of the unrelatedness of the finite and the in-

1. Thought and Reality, p. 125; 154 ff.
2. Thought and Reality, p. 61; cf. p. 91 ff.
3. Thought and Reality, p. 203.
4. Thought and Reality, p. 234.

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finite, of fear of "content" [1] and mediation. He could argue that Raju's concept of immediacy — despite all contrary assertions — is a mere negation of mediation and in its "pure emptiness" remains nonetheless mediated. Regarding the "incomprehensibility" and "inexplicability" of both the world and the "Absolute", Hegel might have said that this should not be a matter of theoretical disputes and assertions. Comprehensibility has to be actualized by ourselves, in our own resolute self-mobilization. Our decision is necessary, the "courage" [2] to expose our reason to the world and its alleged inexplicability. Reason has to face this apparently inaccessible and inconsistent world and has to find out that it is its very own element. The dialectical method–which is not, as Raju seems to think, something like arthāpatti in Mīmāṃsā and Vedānta [3] — is Hegel's way of naturalizing philosophy in *this* world, of coming to terms with negation, difference, change, interrelation, relativity — with just those "contradictions" and inconsistencies which according to Raju and Advaita Vedānta demonstrate the emptiness and inexplicability of this world. Dialectic is insofar a philosophical device against the escape and evaporation of thought into dreams of pure being and absolute non–contradiction.

There is, indeed, much in Hegel which could be read as the anticipation of a reply to Raju. This does certainly *not* imply that it *is* the anticipation of a conclusive refutation of what Raju has to say, just as it does *not* indicate that Indian thought has really been "aufgehoben", i. e. preserved, cancelled and exalted, by Hegel's system. However, what it indicates is that Hegel's remarks on India take sides in a fundamental confrontation which is still quite alive in our days, — in such a manner that the fertility of his viewpoints and catagories is confirmed, while at the same time the exaggeration of his systematic claims is disproved. — Howsoever we assess (or condemn) Hegel's views of Indian thought — we have to confess that he touches positions and principles which are still central to modern interpreters and advocates of Hindu philosophy (of course not all of them), and which are discussed and defended not in terms of historical factuality, but in terms of Hindu truth and relevance. This corresponds to his own attitude : His discussion of Hindu thought is never a merely historical discussion; it is the discussion of a "way of thought", which "interferes with the highest concepts of our consciousness". [4] It reflects problems and answers which are

1. Cf. Enzyklopädie der philosophischen Wissenschaften. Ed. F. Nicolin/O. Pöggeler (Hamburg 1959), § 573, esp. p. 460-461.
2. G. d. Ph. I, p. 5-6.
3. Thought and Reality, p. 223 ff.; 237 ff.; cf. P. T. Raju, Idealistic Thought of India (London 1953), p. 123.
4. B. Schr., p. 153.

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in the focus of his own systematic thought. The "Preface" of the "Phenomenology of the Spirit" (1807), with its polemics against the "indeterminate divinity", against the prevalence of "substance" and "immediacy", "abstract universality" and the "naivity of emptiness" [1], is probably most suitable to illustrate this; it is a text which was composed long before Hegel's more detailed study of Indian thought and obviously does not contain any reference to India. [2]

Hegel has not done with being a philosopher when he enters the field of history, and he never conceals his philosophical position behind historical statements. He never opens himself to the "universality" of a historical bird's-eye view of philosophy, or to the indifference of a cosmopolitan tolerance and sympathy which H. von Glasenapp seems to patronize. — To be sure, we can no longer dispose of Non-Western cultures, and of history in general, in the Hegelian way. We have to live with our doubts regarding the direction and meaning of Western "progress", with the possibility of fatal historical losses and futilities, and with the possibility *and* factuality of *alternatives* to our Occidental orientation. The course of events in thought and practice has taught us to be more modest — but *not*, to be indifferent.

Hegel does not recognize the foreign, the heterogeneous, as foreign, does not accept alternatives as alternatives. His approach is that of appropriation and incorporation; what seems to be heterogeneous, has to be comprehended as a constituent and presupposition of one's own thought : Positively or negatively, this approach should be worth the attention of contemporary "Comparative Philosophy". "Comparative Philosophy" is still in a nascent stage; a clarification of its methodological and hermeneutic foundations should be one of its main concerns; and in this respect, the relevance of Hegel's reflections on the relationship between system and history of philosophy is obvious.

No doubt, his approach is provocative; it is a provocation of "Comparative Philosophy" itself. But just on this account, its effect could be beneficial. It could contribute to preventing "Comparative Philosophy" from lapsing into naivity or non-commitment — into an indifferent comparison and co-ordination of concepts and doctrines, into the "enumeration of multifarious opinions" [3] and their reduction to most abstract conformities, into a liberalism of "opining" the openness of which would ultimately be nothing but emptiness or self-deceit.

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1. Phänomenologie des Geistes. Ed. J. Hoffmeister (Hamburg 1952), p.14 ff.
2. Cf., however, the remarks on the "religion of nature" and the "religion of flowers", p. 485 f.
3. G. d. Ph. I, p. 25.

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Explanation of abbreviations (Hegel texts) :

1. G. d. Ph. I = Vorlesungen über die *G*eschichte *d*er *Ph*ilosophie. I. Band (Einleitung) : System und Geschichte der Philosophie. Ed. J. Hoffmeister (Leipzig 1944).
   [i.e. vol. I of the Lectures on the History of Philosophy].

2. Ph. d. W. = Vorlesungen über die *Ph*ilosophie *d*er *W*eltgeschichte.
   I = Die Vernunft in der Geschichte. Ed. J. Hoffmeister (Hamburg 1966).
   II = Die orientalische Welt. Ed. G. Lasson (Hamburg 1968).
   [i.e. vols. I and II of the Lectures on the Philosophy of History].

3. B. Schr. = Berliner Schriften, 1818–1881. Ed. J. Hoffmeister (Hamburg 1956)
   [contains Hegel's review of W. von Humboldt's Bhagavadgītā articles].

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ON SOME RECENT EDITIONS OF THE PĀLI TIPIṬAKA[1]

BY

FRANK RICHARD HAMM (Bonn)

The first printed Pāli text appeared some 125 years ago in Colombo. It was the Mahāvaṃsa — edited and translated by George Turnour — a chronicle of Ceylon which is no canonical text. During the first and second half of the last century scholars became acquainted with the Pāli canon proper by papers and manuscript-catalogues. While the first edition of any particular canonical text generally appeared in Europe, the first attempt to bring out a complete edition of the Tipiṭaka was started in Thailand several years after the foundation of the "Pāli Text Society". In the Thai-edition of 1893 a few texts of the fifth Nikāya of the Suttapiṭaka are missing. Since then partial editions had come out in Burma and Ceylon, and it appears that the first complete edition of the canon is that one which was again printed in Thailand in or around 1927.

The 2500th Anniversary of the Buddha's Parinirvāṇa has inspired in several Asian countries, viz. in Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, and India, a very lively Buddhist missionary movement. Editions of the complete Tipiṭaka or parts thereof as well as large collections of commentaries and subcommentaries have since been published. However, in spite of the greatly improved communications with the above mentioned countries the individual scholar will hardly manage to procure everything published there.

The following report on some recent editions of the Pāli Tipiṭaka is not complete. Only four editions could be taken into account. Ceylonese texts have not been available to me up to now, while of the Cambodian edition only the print of the first 3 Suttas of the DN., Paris 1949, is known to me. I hope that in a subsequent paper I will be able to discuss the tradition of Laṅkā too.

The following remarks are meant to help the Pāli philologist who only occasionally wants to consult one or the other of the editions discussed and who requires to have a notion of their scientific value. This cannot be obtained through merely casual use. The bulk of the Tipiṭaka does not permit a comparison of several entire editions at the same time. But to get a correct idea of the individual texts, it will be sufficient to collate all available editions for a fairly long and

1. Enlarged draft of a paper read at the 15th German Congress of Orientalists in Göttingen, 1961. It was first published in : Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. 119, 1963, p. 353–365. I am indebted to Professor Spitaler, Munich, editor of that Journal, for the permission to translate this paper.

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connected passage, or, as it will be done here, for two such passages. This presupposes that both sampling and evaluation are done methodically.

The following editions have been compared[1]:

A. The second impression of the Burmese edition (B^e) of the so-called Sixth Council in Rangoon; published 1958–60.

B. The second and the third edition of the Siamese Tipiṭaka (S^e as also S^{e2} or S^{e3}). S^{e2} appeared sometime around 1927 — the individual volumes not all in the same year. S^{e3} began to appear in 1956 and has been completed meanwhile.

C. The Devanāgarī edition in 41 volumes, 1956–1961 (N^e).

D. The prints of the first three Suttas of DN in : BLOCH, FILLIOZAT, RENOU : Canon Bouddhique Pāli. Texte et traduction. Tome I.—Fascicule I. Paris 1949 (K^e).

A.

Everybody using Pāli texts knows that above all Burma from ancient times has been a country of learned and philologically competent monks. This becomes evident everywhere from the variant readings cited from the Burmese tradition in the PTS editions. The 40 volume edition of the Tipiṭaka published on the occasion of the 2500th anniversary of the Buddha's Parinibbāna which was followed very soon by a newly revised second edition is indeed worthy of the scholarly tradition of this country. Of the editions compared, the Burmese is the only one to contain an introduction on its disposition and arrangement, fortunately not in Burmese but in the Pāli language. And its Pāli is excellent, being also linguistically interesting, especially from the point of view of the vocabulary. From this introduction we learn that distinguished members of the Burmese Saṅgha were worried by the fact that the Buddhavacana was far from being available in such a pure and unambiguous form as the teaching of the Buddha would require. Although the gospel of the Buddha has spread far and wide, many doubtful and corrupt passages have come up, due to inattentiveness as well as to different modes of writing. For this reason it was decided that the Tipiṭaka be thoroughly revised and that the Buddhist world be presented with a new purified edition on the occasion of the 2500th Anniversary. For, as it is stated in the introduction, future generations might no longer be able to understand the text of the Buddhavacana in an ever more deteriorating form. This edition is based on the well-known "edition"

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1. The abbreviations are mainly those of the Critical Pali Dictionary, Copenhagen, since 1924.

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of the canon on 729 marble slabs which escaped the devastations during World War II in Mandalay. The "edition" was prepared in 1871 under the patronage of King Mindon. The Saṅgha looked for and found support from the great of the empire, especially from Prime Minister U Nu and from other influential and well-to-do laymen. A big assembly hall, a Stūpa and other buildings were constructed and the Sixth Council—according to the Burmese calculation—was convened there. Then the Saṅgha elected 25 Mahātheras who summoned more than 100 teams of "text-improvers" and numerous groups of "verifiers" (Paṭivisodhaka). Copies of the marble slab edition were distributed among all these working-groups. When thus a correct text of the Burmese tradition had been established, monks from Ceylon, Thailand, Cambodia and Laos, who had also been consulted, collated the Burmese text with their local traditions. This much about the report on the origin of the new Burmese edition with which we are concerned here. What does the edition really look like ?

As already stated, it consists of 40 vols. : 5 vols. of Vinaya, 23 of Suttapiṭaka—in the Khuddakanikāya of which the Burmese tradition also includes Milindapañha, Nettipakaraṇa and even the Peṭakopadesa—and 12 vols. of Abhidhammapiṭaka. From the Jātaka only the verses are printed, as also incidentally in the other editions which have been compared. The preface is attached to the respective first volume of each major collection only. On the other hand each and every volume has a chart with Burmese and Latin script. Every volume has a list of contents which divides the longer texts in smaller chapters and furnishes them with characteristic titles. The text itself, printed in big and distinct letters, provides a clear sentence-structure and word-division. Every volume has numbered paragraphs, the numbers being given throughout the entire volume. I do not know why this is done, but this usage occurs also in S^e and K^e. The sectioning into paragraphs, however, is in itself quite different in the various editions. It is, therefore, useless to cite from the prose texts of the Tipiṭaka anything else but volume and page numbers. The citation system is represented best in the PTS editions, the paging of which is given in N^e as marginal notes, because E^e is the most wide-spread edition. Texts not edited in E^e should be quoted according to B^e, the paging of which is likewise given in N^e. S^e is less suitable to be cited by pages, as the limitation of this edition (S^{e2} : 1000; S^{e3} : 500 copies only) will prevent a general circulation. The print of B^e contains some additional European punctuation marks : there are exclamation marks, inverted commas and dashes as well as brackets in the list of variant readings. The critical apparatus which is of special importance to the scholar contains the variant readings of :

1. Ceylonese editions (quoted as Sī, from Sīhalapotthake);

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2. the synopsis of the various readings of the same (symbol : Ka-Sī, i. e. katthaci Sīhalapotthake);
3. the second Siamese edition (symbol : Syā, from Syāma-potthake);
4. the Cambodian edition (symbol : Kaṃ, from Kambojapotthake);
5. the editions of the PTS, as also from other European editions (symbol I, i. e. Iṅgalisapotthake);
6. Burmese-manuscripts; (the symbol : Ka means katthaci Marammapotthake);
7. the Aṭṭhakathā (symbol Ṭṭha); and finally
8. marked by a quotation mark, variant readings which we find also elsewhere in the tradition, but which are doubtful and therefore are matter for discussion :

"Siyā nu kho porāṇa-pāṭho" ti takkiṭa-pāṭho.

A list of abbreviations is given in the beginning of each volume.

Though the apparatns presents us with a selection of variant readings of invaluable quality, it is disappointing from the point of view of quantity. The first volume of DN, for example, contains not more than 175 notes. Howsoever we appreciate that at least one Asian edition uses and also marks the manuscript material from another country (Ceylon) and especially takes into account the Cambodian edition which is probably the least accessible one, the numerically meagre selection proves to us that only the Burmese tradition has been recorded reliably. Positively speaking, we may, however, note that it at least appears uncontaminated with any foreign tradition. Now and then the apparatus contains a philological note on or a reference to parallel passages in other books of the canon.

An appendix gives once again the most important variants in an alphabetical order—a supplement, which is missing in other editions and which appears to be not a superfluous addenda. As for other appendices, there are a catchword-index and verse-indices, the latter though not in every volume. The text is printed remarkably correctly; there are only incidental misprints some of which are listed in an attached Sodhanapatta.

Since I could not compare any older Burmese edition with the edition of the 6th Council (which is being discussed), I cannot judge whether any such edition materially differs from ours. I shall cite further distinctive details of the text and the variant readings when discussing the relationship between the different editions compared.

B.

In 1893–94 King Cūlālaṅkaraṇa had a 39–volume edition of the Tipiṭaka published and had it presented to many European and American libraries.

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This edition is not easy to read; it marks the Siamese accents and tones and indicates the Virāma by various signs. As is well-known, there are no ligatures in the Siamese alphabet, but the Vyañjanacihna is used instead. The edition does not comprise all the texts of the Khuddakanikāya. From the very short preface to S^{e2} we get only little information relevant to its origin. As already mentioned, this edition appeared in 1927. In its 45 volumes it comprises all the texts which also in Ceylon are regarded to be canonical as well as those missing in the first edition except the three above-mentioned additional texts contained in B^e. It is due to the use of more spacious types and to the smaller size of the volumes that S^{e2} consists of more volumes than B^e. Thus, for example, in S^e the Vinayapiṭaka is published in 8 volumes and SN and AN in 5 vols. each, while in B^e there are 5, 3, and 3 vols., respectively. In the second Siamese edition new types were used which are very easy to read. A few passages only are numbered and, as in B^e, the numbering is continued throughout the volume, even if this contains several texts quite different from each other. Neither S^{e2} nor S^{e3} number the verses.

The third Siamese edition is on the whole an exact reproduction of the second. The page-numbers are identical, a fact which is rather important because in some recent Pāli publications from India use has been made of the Siamese edition S^{e2} the page-numbers of which have also been referred to. As compared to S^{e2}, S^{e3} has included much more variant readings in the apparatus. The only punctuation mark existent in this edition is the Siamese equivalent of the double daṇḍa, and, therefore, the sentences look extremely long and consequently, the text arrangement is less lucid than one could wish. Neither a chart of script nor a list of sigla have been attached to the volumes. The variant readings given are the Burmese (symbol Ma), the Singhalese (symbol Sī), the European (symbol Yū), and those from manuscripts not further described, though these are certainly from Thailand itself. Brief philological remarks are also to be found in this edition. In the Abhidhammapiṭaka considerably less variant readings have been recorded than in the Vinaya-and Suttapiṭaka.

To each volume have been attached appendices. They comprise (1) catchwords arranged systematically, (2) proper names, (3) every first pada of the verses. The appendices are rather short and, therefore, not very useful. References have been made in them by pages and paragraphs instead of by lines which renders it difficult to find a passage referred to.

In many volumes of the PTS use has already been made of the Siamese tradition. On the whole it deserves the praise bestowed upon it : the text is prepared diligently, though it is not everywhere beyond doubt that no contamination has crept in. All in all, S^e clearly represents the tradition of its country.

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C.

Following the 6th Council in Burma a Devanāgarī edition was published in Bihar 1956–61 in the "Nalanda Devanāgarī Pāli Series" in 41 volumes: Vinaya 5 vols, DN, MN 3 vols each, SN, AN 4 vols each, Khuddakanikāya 9 vols and Abhidhamma 13 vols. Apart from a general foreword by Radhakrishnan, each of the N^e volumes has a special introduction, always in English, mostly also in Hindi. The introduction provides historical information on the various councils and lists the texts that have been consulted The edition is based on the Burmese text of the 6th Council save for its variant readings. Comparison has been made between S^{e_2}, one C^e and E^e. Page-numbers of the Burmese and the European editions have been given as marginal notes. Various Singhalese editions have been used, but, of course, for each volume only one. The introduction gives the exact reference as to which C^e has been made use of.

On the whole N^e makes a good impression. Scrupulous endeavours were made to render the text as easily legible as possible. Therefore, all kinds of European punctuation marks can be met with; indentation and insertion of headings, either numbered or not, greatly enhance the perspicuity of the text. It is helpful that the numbering of paragraphs starts with each Sutta anew. The introductions to the volumes have a short summary each, and there is a detailed table of contents divided into paragraphs. In the end of each volume there are indices of words and of the beginnings of verses. The apparatus criticus is much more copious than that of the Rangoon and Bangkok editions.

While the arrangement of the text and the detailed information on its origin meet reasonable expectations, it cannot be passed over in silence that as for its reliability much is left to be desired. This does not only concern the text but also the apparatus where it is only possible to correct a mistake by consulting the original edition in question. The misprints not taken into account, the apparatus still suffers from the following drawbacks:

(1) Only the first (but sometimes only the second or third) instance of a variant occurring often or even regularly in the same form in the text is mentioned. Other editions suffer from the same drawback, although this is rather compensated for in some texts of the PTS and of the S^e by the remark that this or that text, i.e. either manuscripts or printed books, reads always "so and so from here onwards". Except for the purely graphical variants—writing of the class nasal and the Anusvāra, for instance—it seems to be an urgent requirement to cite all the places where a variant occurs. There are two reasons for this:

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(1) The texts are not always read continuously and, therefore, one naturally misses a variant existent but noted somewhere else.

(2) The original texts are not uniform, but one and the same word is spelt differently in the various places.

(2) Comparison was only made with the received version of the various editions, but their original manuscripts however scanty the information available on them may be, are not taken into account at all. In this respect the Indian edition is poorer than all the rest.

(3) The selection of the variant readings is not based on any clear principle. The listing of all the variants would, of course, have enlarged the apparatus immensely. So the complete recording of the variants was probably not done for practical reasons. As it is, the Indian edition can only claim the p r a c t i c a l value of faithfully reproducing the Burmese version and of recording more select variants than the Burmese edition itself. The Indian edition cannot give a clear and reliable impression of the other editions.

Contrasting with this evaluation there is, however, the indisputable fact that by N^e we have been presented with a textually not bad, diligently prepared edition of the Pāli texts which lists more variants from other traditions than any other edition. When using it we must only realize what we can expect from it and what not.

D.

On K^e not much is to be remarked. Since it was not available to me in original, it is not quite clear to me whether the misprints — which by the way are not numerous — were actually only produced in reprinting. The variants given are those of the PTS edition and of an older Burmese edition. The latter is not always identical with the text of B^e as compared by me. Occasionally there are variants which remain anonymous. When differing from B^e the text mostly agrees with S^e, but not as exclusively as to allow us to assume that K^e is simply a reproduction of S^e.

In order to substantiate the general remarks made above I will give below such data as result from a comparison of the discussed editions of two texts chosen at random. These are MN Sutta 26 and DN Sutta 2. For this choice there are two external reasons: The first text I had treated in a seminar, the second was chosen because it was available in the French edition of K^e and it seemed to be advisable to consult the text of this edition at least for this Sutta. The arbitrariness of the choice seems to guarantee up to a certain degree that

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the result is representative for all editions compared. It can hardly be assumed that other texts subjected to the same comparison would yield totally different results.

Majjhimanikāya No. 26

1. Comparison B^e — N^e

(1) The reproduction of the Burmese text in N^e is on the whole correct. No actual misprint was to be found in B^e, while I counted 13 misprints in N^e (on 17 pages of that edition). N^e, however, differs 13 times from its original; 7 times the difference in reading was noted in the apparatus, 6 times it was not. In this enumeration the misprints in the text (as distinguished from those in the apparatus) have not been taken into account.

(2) With regard to orthography, N^e differs from B^e, especially by the way it handles the Sandhi. N^e has a predilection for the Anusvāra, whereas B^e uses the class nasal. Occasionally, however, it is just the other way round.

(3) Punctuation and paragraphing of the editions differ from each other. N^e follows a procedure of its own and introduces much more differentation. N^e gives headings for each chapter and numbers the paragraphs throughout. B^e has 15 paragraphs only, while N^e has 27 and, in addition to these, 6 chapter-headings which greatly enlarge the lucidity. Besides the paragraphs numbered there are in both editions many indentations which are well-known from European books too. Here again the Indian edition is richer than the Burmese one. The same holds good of the European punctuation of which B^e uses only the quotation marks, whereas N^e makes use of the dash, the semi-colon, the comma as well as the exclamation mark. But B^e uses the double daṇḍa much more often than N^e which in its prose parts uses the simple daṇḍa throughout.

(4) The Peyyālas are the same in both editions, except for a single case where B^e has the full text.

(5) As for the listing of the variant readings, there is a considerable difference between both editions. N^e lists much more than B^e. In N^e there are variants along with 86 sigla for 55 words of the text. In this figure the above mentioned seven readings differing from the received text of B^e have been included. B^e has variants for 24 words only; however, to these may be added references to the parallel passages in the Vinayapiṭaka (nowhere the full writing to which "Vi" is the abbreviation is given) and some philological foot-notes. But while N^e lists variant readings from C^e, S^e, B^e and E^e, B^e lists also variants from mss. and from the apparatus

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criticus of C^e, as well as variants from K^e. The relationship between both apparatuses is rather peculiar due to the fact that they are far from being congruent. This means that for N^e the relevant originals used were compared independently. As already mentioned, N^e has 86 sigla. For the following comparison the seven readings differing from B^e have to be subtracted. Of the remaining 79 sigla 53 are not mentioned in B^e. The latter has 30 sigla, however, which are not recorded in N^e. In these are included such editions or manuscripts as have not been used by the Indian editions. Inclusive of the few notes, B^e has only 55 sigla in total. If one compares both the versions, 141 sigla in all would have been possible, of which N^e and B^e each have 53 and 30, respectively, for themselves, whereas only 58, that is the third part, is common to both the editions.

From this follows with certainty that N^e is textually quite a faithful reproduction of B^e. However, if one considers that out of 30 sigla listed in B^e alone exactly half is from codices not used by N^e, it becomes evident that from N^e alone, without using B^e, one will not get a scientifically satisfactory impression of the value and the character of the Burmese tradition.

2. *Comparison* S^e — N^e

N^e lists 23 variants from S^e. Three of these have been recorded incorrectly. To the variants from the Burmese, Singhalese and English editions as listed by N^e, 6 from S^e should have been added, namely, where the latter corresponds to one or more of the editions just mentioned. To be complete N^e ought to have added 77 more variants from S^e which would have had the same right to be listed by N^e as those actually adopted. From this it results that the Indian edition gives quite an unsatisfactory impression of the Siamese tradition.

3. *Comparison* S^{e2} — S^{e3}

Both agree on the whole. Occasionally the text of the third, as compared with the second edition, has been changed without any comment. These changes are probably due to the influence of one of the other editions, which would mean that a contamination has occured. It is, of course, also possible that these changes are based on Siamese manuscripts. On this question more research could be done. In case modifications should be found in S^{e3} which differ from all the other editions and from the critical apparatuses published, this might or rather ought to result in the exclusion of the first assumption.

$S^{e2.3}$ have not been unified throughout; there are, on the contrary, sometimes differences in parallel text passages which must have sprung from a tradition of their own to become explicable.

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As for misprints S^{e2} lists 9 in the Sodhanapatta, but they actually run to 11, 4 of these being misprinted again in S^{e3}. In the Sodhanapatta of S^{e3} another four misprints have been listed, in the text I have found 9 in all.

S^{e3} is richer in variants than S^{e2}. It repeats the 6 variants of the second edition and adds 22 new ones from B^e, C^e and E^e.

4. Comparison S^e — B^e

Both editions list such a small number of variants from each other that neither of them can claim any scientific value beyond that of recording the tradition of its own country. The text of S^e has been prepared less carefully than that of B^e where I found no misprint.

5. Comparison E^e — N^e

The text of the English edition differs less from B^e — and, therefore, indirectly also from N^e — than that of the Siamese edition. The comparison between the Indian and the English edition has been done more carefully in the Indian edition than in the Siamese one. While in N^e we found 23 variants (3 of them incorrect) noted from the Siamese edition, we found in the same edition 27 variants from E^e (2 of them incorrect). Against 77 unmentioned Siamese variants which the N^e might have noted (according to its own variant–"standard"), we have counted only 41 variants of the E^e not mentioned in N^e. Of these 21 go together with such variant readings of the S^e as have not been mentioned by N^e, and 1 goes together with a Burmese variant not mentioned by N^e.

Hence we may conclude that N^e has paid more attention to the English edition than to the Siamese one and also that N^e does not represent E^e with the necessary scientific reliability.

Dīghanikāya No. 2

1. Comparison B^e — N^e

(1) I have found in N^e 10 actual misprints, that is to say, much less than in MN. To these, however, numerous incorrect references in the apparatus have to be added. For 30 passages the text of N^e differs from that of B^e on which it is based, but only 14 times this has been noted. One misprint from B^e has been adopted by N^e.

(2) Also the Burmese edition has introduced in this text headings for larger sections. I have counted 154 paragraphs in B^e, but only 104 in N^e.

(3) B^e furnishes variants for 48 words with 97 sigla in all. N^e quotes variant readings for 253 words with 370 sigla. From the latter number we must subtract those 14 readings differing from B^e. B^e does not list 320 of the

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resulting 354 sigla, but it contains 54 sigla missing in N^e so that only 77 sigla are common to both editions, that is about one sixth. Of the 54 sigla of B^e which N^e does not have, 39 (that is four fifths) owe their origin to codices which N^e does not make use of as a matter of principle. By this the common stock of sigla — where it should have been expected to exist — is further reduced.

2. Comparison B^e — K^e

For the Sutta which concerns us here the Burmese edition mentions K^e 14 times only. In these, corresponding readings in S^e are mentioned 13 times, while K^e is quoted once only where S^e has the same reading. Four additional cases may be added where B^e quotes a variant from S^e only where the latter is identical in reading with K^e. Readings differing in B^e from K^e could have been noted 317 times out of which 249 instances would have been found to be identical with S^e. I have noted 68 cases where both K^e and S^e differ from B^e. These numbers are interesting not only because they reflect the gross insufficiency (and the partial inaccuracy) of B^e when noting variants of K^e. What is actually more interesting is the frequency with which K^e and S^e go together, because this means that K^e largely depends on S^e, though contaminated with some other tradition.

3. S^{e2}

(DN vol. 1 of the third S^e is not in hand). In the Sodhanapattā 15 misprints were registered. Apart from these, I have counted 7 more. The text is not normalised ("unified") as has been testified by WARDER in the new edition of the first volume of AN (PTS) from S^e. In our text DN No. 2, S^e has variants for 101 words which owe their origin mostly to a Sinhalese print not correctly specified in detail.

4. Comparison S^e — N^e

N^e lists 119 variants from S^e. 6 of these are either incorrect or contain misprints which add to the already mentioned misprints in the text of N^e. Among these variants there are also those misprints as are corrected in the Sodhanapatta of S^e. Also B^e quotes among its few variants from S^e those which are clearly misprints. From this it follows that both editions have totally ignored the Sodhanapatta. To give an exact idea of the Siamese edition N^e ought to have adopted 186 more variant readings.

5. Comparison N^e — E^e

Differently from the text of the first volume of MN which, considering the manuscript material accessible then, is a perfect example of philological edition-technique, the Dīghanikāya seems to have been produced rather negligently.

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It is, of course, well-known that the editions of the PTS are quite different from each other with respect to their philological value which one can easily imagine considering the fact that there have been so many editors. The London edition of the second Sutta of the DN has 40 misprints according to my count. N^e quotes 140 "variae lectiones" from E^e of which 16 are incorrect or printed mistakably; 6 more have to be added which are no variae lectiones but simply misprints of E^e. 276 more variants should have been added to give a complete picture of the t e x t of this edition.

The incompleteness and also the unreliability of the apparatus of N^e is also visible from the following fact :

For the word "thīnamiddha" ("heaviness" : one of the 5 nīvaraṇas of Arhatship), the dictionary of PTS gives 14 references which can be found in the different volumes of N^e. They are distributed as follows :

Cullavagga of the Vinayapiṭaka : 1 passage
DN : 6 references
SN : 4 references
Sn : 1 reference
It : 2 references

B^e always writes the word with a short "i". N^e, although being based on B^e, writes the word partly with short and partly with long "i". In 6 out of 14 places mentioned, N^e has the writing "i". Only twice it quotes variants from other editions, one of these quotations being even incomplete. However, at 8 places N^e has "i" against the text of B^e, but it mentions this deviation from B^e only three times.

Let us summarize the results of this study in a few words. B^e has the best text; S^e is nearly equal to it in value, having more misprints, but, especially in S^{e3}, also more variant readings. Both exclusively represent the tradition of their own country. As for the text, N^e is comparatively poorer, but it surpasses both the other editions by its rich apparatus and by its much more lucid arrangement of the text. None of the three editions can replace the other or the E^e. It might be expected that the same is true of C^e.

One must give special attention to the variant readings cited from the manuscripts by B^e and S^e, but also by K^e and C^e. From the very outset it is certain that all Asian editions present contaminated texts. It has been found that there exists a certain relationship between Burmese and Siamese manuscripts. We could not enter into this matter and it may also be doubtful, whether we can gain some clarity about it from those scanty notes from the manu-

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scripts as are contained in B^e and S^e. Still an attempt should be made to study this particular question, unless the original manuscripts from the countries concerned become available to us.

We are thus far away from an edition of any Pāli text which can really be called critical. At present we cannot judge whether such an edition will ever be possible.

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BUDDHA'S PREACHING OF THE KĀLACAKRA TANTRA AT THE STŪPA OF DHĀNYAKAṬAKA

BY

HELMUT HOFFMANN (Bloomington)

One of the most important problems of the history of the Kālacakra system is the settling of the question how we can prove that the Tantra which was introduced to India from the north-west about 967 A.D. was estimated to be the word of Lord Buddha himself. The still existing version of the Tantra, both in Sanskrit and Tibetan, the Laghu-Kālacakra Tantra [1], an abridged version composed in the Sragdharā metre, does not show, it is true, a typical complete Saṅgīti style introduction which is the mark of genuineness of Buddha's word for the Buddhists. The "Basic Tantra", The Kālacakra Mūlatantra, as confirmed already by the great Tibetan scholar Bu-ston, is lost [2]. But fortunately, 58 1/2 verses of the Mūlatantra in the śloka metre are preserved as a quotation in Nāro-pā's "Commentary on the Baptism Ritual" (Sekoddeśa Ṭīkā [3]), a part of them giving data on the place, time and audience of Buddha's first preaching of the Kālacakra system. So it seems to be obvious, that any consideration about Buddha's preaching should start from an interpretation of those verses.

The editing of those ślokas is not easy, because we have only one Sanskrit manuscript at our disposition, so that the very old Tibetan translation may be looked at as the oldest version available. Besides the text is not only written in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit but in a very corrupt barbarian Sanskrit of a semi-Indian region in the far north-west.

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1. For the Sanskrit text compare *Kālacakra-Tantra and Other Texts,* Part I, ed. by Prof. Raghu Vira and Prof. Lokesh Chandra, Śata-Piṭaka Series, Indo-Asian Literatures, Vol. 69, New Delhi 1966, pp. 332-378. As to the Tibetan translation cp. *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons (Bkaḥ-ḥgyur and Bstan-ḥgyur)*, published by Tôhoku Imperial University, Sendai 1934, p. 67, no. 362.

2. E. Obermiller, *History of Buddhism (Chos-ḥbyung) by Bu-ston,* Part II, Heidelberg 1932, p. 170.

3. H. Hoffmann, Literarhistorische Bemerkungen zur Sekoddeśaṭīkā des Nāḍapāda, *Beiträge zur indischen Philologie und Altertumskunde, Walther Schubring zum 70. Geburtstag dargebracht.* Alt—und Neuindische Studien 7, Hamburg 1951, pp. 146 ff. Edition of the text : Sekoddeśa Ṭīkā of Nāḍapāda, ed. by Mario Carelli, Gaekwad's Oriental Series XC, Baroda 1941, pp. 2 ff.

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gṛdhrakūṭe yathā šāstrā[1] — ston pas bya rgod p'uń po ru /
prajñāpāramitā-naye / — šes rab p'a rol p'yin c'ul bžin /
tathā mantranaye proktā — č'os bstan dpal 'bras p'uń du /
šrīdhānye dharmadešanā // 1 — de bžin gsań sńags c'ul rabs gsuńs /

"As the instruction of the Dharma by the teacher has been preached in the case of the 'Method of the Perfection of Wisdom' on the Gṛdhrakūṭa, so in the case of the 'Method of Spells' at šrīdhānya (kaṭaka)".

kutaḥ sthānāt kutaḥ šāstrāt[2] — gań la gnas nas ston pa ni /
tatra tantraṣ ca desitaḥ / — su yis rgyud kyań či žig bstan /
kasmin sthāne kayā loka- — gnas ni gań du 'jig rten pa'i /
parṣadā[3] kena hetunā // 2 — 'k 'or ni su yis rgyu či yis / 2

"From what place the Tantra was pointed out there, by which teacher, at what place, in the presence of which assembly of people, and for what reason ?"

gṛdhrakūṭe mahāšaile — bya rgod p'uń po'i ri č'en por /
prajñāpāramita-nayam / — t'eg pa č'en po bla na med /
sandešya bodhisattvānāṃ — šes rab p'a rol p'yin pa'i c'ul /
mahāyānaṃ niruttaraṃ // 3 — byań č'ub sems dpa' rnams la bstan / 3

"When the Tathāgata had taught the 'Method of the Perfection of Wisdom' on the great mountain Gṛdhrakūṭa to the Bodhisattvas, the highest 'Great Vehicle' ",

athaikasyāṃ[4] mahacaityāṃ[5] — de nas gčig tu mč'od rten č'er /
dharmadhātuka-maṇḍale / — č'os kyi dbyiń s kyi dkyil 'k'or du /
bodhisattvādibhiḥ sārdhaṃ — byań č'ub sems dpa' sogs rnams kyis /
vijahāra tathāgataḥ // 4 — t'abs čig de bžin gšegs pa bžugs / 4

"then he dwelt together with Bodhisattvas and others at one great Caitya, in the Maṇḍala of the 'Sphere of primordial Reality' ",

ākāše tv = ajaḍe svacche — nam mk'a' bems min šin tu dań /
'navakāša-prakāšini — go skabs med pa rab tu gsal /
višvavajrālaye[6] lene[7] — sna c'ogs rdo rje'i k'ań par gnas /

1. Ms. šāstaḥ, correct reading according to the Tibetan.

2. Hybrid Sanskrit form instead of šāstuḥ, following the inflexion of the a-stems.

3. parṣadā has to be restored according to metre instead of the grammatically correct pariṣadā of the Ms.

4. Ms. atha kasyāṃ; gcig tu could be ekatra, too, therefore a reading athaikatra would be possible, but the obvious correspondence of kasyāṃ and mahācaityāṃ (Hybrid Sanskrit) has to be abandoned which seems not to be likely.

5. mahācaityāṃ, a very strange form, looks a loc. sing. fem. in a contracted form which is not known elsewhere.

6. Ms. višve vajrālaye, but according to Tibetan sna c'ogs rdo rje'i the reading given above is certain.

7. Ms. layane is correct Sanskrit; but according to metre we have to restore the Middle Indian lene.

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dharmadhātau manorame // 5	č'os kyi dbyiṅs daṅ yid 'oṅ bar / 5

"in the ether which is not motionless, very transparent, which has no space and is very clear, in the beautiful Dharmadhātu, the home of the Višvavajra being his place of rest."

tantrasya dešanā puṃsāṃ	rgyud bstan skyes bu rnams kyi ni /
puṇyajñāna-prayojanam /	bsod nams ye šes dges pa'o /
ekāro gaganāloko	e yig nam mk'a'i snaṅ ba č'e /
dharmadhātuḥ prakīrtitaḥ /	č 'os kyi dbyiṅs su rab tu grags /
vaṃkāro sugatavyūha	baṃ yig bde bar gšegs pa'i c'ogs /
ekare samyag-viṣṭhitaḥ // 6	e yig rnam par yaṅ dag gnas // 6

"There took place the preaching of the Tantra for the men, the object of sacred knowledge. The sound 'E' has the splendour of the sky, and is called Dharmadhātu, the sound 'Vam' is the manifestation of the Sugatas which is located completely in the sound 'E' ".

I feel, the importance of those verses and of the following ones which I am not in a position to adduce here cannot be overestimated. Obviously we do find here the official version concerning Buddha's third dharmacakra-pravartaṇa or "turning of the wheel of the doctrine", viz. that of the Mantra-yāna teachings which might be called also Vajrayāna, because the last verse just quoted gives obvious hints to the creed of the magical polarity lore, symbolized by the famous word "Evam" (= thus) which means the unio mystica of the female component of the universe, generally called prajñā "Wisdom" and here expressed by the syllable "E", together with the male one symbolized by "Vam".

The whole word "Evam" means the state of mahāsukha or yuganaddha which is the goal of the direct magical path to salvation. Buddha's pronouncement of the third vehicle is expressly paralleled with the "Second Turning of the Wheel", that of the Mahāyāna or "Perfection of Wisdom" on the mountain Gṛdhrakūṭa in Magadha. Although it has not been mentioned in our text we have to add the first preaching, viz. that of the Šrāvakayāna at the "Grove of Gazelles", the Mṛgadāva of Ṛṣipatana near the actual Sārnāth which was the only historical one. By that preaching the Buddha unveiled the central conception of his knowledge, the "four Noble Truths" to the first group of five monks.

There cannot be the slightest doubt that according to our first šloka the preaching of the Kālacakra and the Mantrayāna in general took place at Šrīdhānyakaṭaka near the delta of the river Kistna in Āndhra. No special consideration concerning the location of that spot, namely the famous big Stūpa of Amarāvatī near the actual Dharaṇikoṭa in the Guntur district seems to be

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justified. But in an article, published in ZDMG 1965, Klaus Hahlweg made known a Tibetan text dPal-ldan, 'bras-spuṅs-kyi mč'od-rten-gyi bkod-pa bu-lugs ltar bris-pa "The arrangement of the Stūpa of Šrī-Dhānyakaṭaka, described according to the tradition of Bu-ston", a treatise written by the learned dGe-lugs-pa Lama kLoṅrdol bla-ma (18th century A.D.), whose informations depend on the tradition of Coṅ-k'a-pa's disciple mK'as-grub-rje and the great teacher Bu-ston just mentioned. The publication in question consists only of the short text and its translation, and does not give the necessary detailed explanation why in an apodictic statement he surprisingly locates the Stūpa in the delta of the Gangā river.

It was the French scholar André Bareau who felt the necessity of discussing the whole problem in an essay published in Arts Asiatiques 1967 (Le stūpa de Dhānyakaṭaka selon la tradition tibétaine). With his usual learning he deals carefully with all aspects and problems of the text published by Hahlweg, but he does not adduce new evidences qualified to solve the existing problems. And due to the restricted material at the end of his essay he finally agrees not without reservation with Hahlweg in locating Dhānyakaṭaka in the Gangā delta, mentioning that famous names of Buddhist sites might be found in different places, hinting for example to the 'Bras-spuṅs monastery near Lhasa, but without providing us with the prove that there was really a Stūpa of that name in the Gangā delta.

Now the statement of kLoṅ-rdol bla-ma, the only source for the proposed identification, is very far from being clear. It runs the following way : dus 'k'or rca rgyud gsuṅs pa'i gnas dpal 'bras spuṅs mč'od rten ni / rgya gar p'yogs bhaṅga la'i mt'a' daṅ rgya nag 'dabs 'brel ba'i sa nas rgya mc'o la gru btaṅ nas ñin gsum cam p'yin pas šrī dhā nya ka ṭa ka p'al skad astu kaya zer dpal ldan 'bras spuṅs kyi mč'od rten rmaṅs la 'k'or yug tu rgyaṅ grags bži bču yod.

"As to the Stūpa of Šrī-Dhānyakaṭaka of which mention has been made in the Kālacakra Mūlatantra : if one travels from a place where the side of China meets with the border of Bengal in Eastern India and lets a vessel sail into the ocean, travelling approximately three days, there is the Stūpa of Šrī-Dhānyakaṭaka, the base of which has the measure of 14 kroša in circumference (about 28 miles, certainly an exaggerated number), called in Indian language Šri-Dhānyakaṭaka, and in the language of common life Astu-ka-ya."

These data prove to be very unsatisfactory. As to my knowledge the name Astu-ka-ya cannot be traced elsewhere, and the statement "where the side of China meets with the border of Bengal in Eastern India" is certainly not an accurate one. As to the travelling time of three days it seems to be

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rather short. Maybe the port of departure has to be looked for somewhere, in Southern Bengal or perhaps even in the district of Arakan. But any way the text can be understood only in that way, that the controversial place may be only the port of departure for Dhānyakaṭaka but not the district of the Stūpa itself.

Both authors, Hahlweg as well as Bareau have not followed the principle, never to rely just on one quotation, and if they would have looked into another treatise by the same kLoṅ-rdol bla-ma which deals in full with the problems of the Kālacakra, the Daṅ-po'i saṅs-rgyas dpal dus kyi 'k'or lo'i lo rgyus daṅ 'miṅ gi rnam graṅs "An Account and Specification of the words about the Kālacakra of the Primordial Buddha (Ādibuddha)" they would have met with a clause which clarifies the whole problem : (fol. 9recto) : rgyal po zla ba bzaṅ po daṅ / yul č'en dgu bču go drug gi rgyal p'ran dgu bču go drug daṅ bčas rju 'p'rul gyis klu sgrub bžugs pa'i gnas rgya gar lho p'yogs dpal gyi rir ñe ba dpal ldan 'bras spuṅs kyi mč'od rten/de yi naṅ du 'dus nas ston pa saṅs rgyas la dus 'k'or rca rgyud šloka stoṅ p'rag bču gñis yod pa žus /

"The king Sucandra (of Šambhala) together with 96 vassal kings of 96 countries came together into the interior of that Stūpa of Dhānyakaṭaka which is near to Nāgārjuna's place of residence, the Šrīparvata in Southern India and requested (the Buddha to preach) the Kālacakra Mūlatantra of 12 000 šlokas". Here we are on secure soil : Nāgārjuna's residence Šrīparvata is well-known and situated not very far to the west of the country of Dhānyakaṭaka, being itself near the lower course of the Kistna in the old Āndhra kingdom, reigned for centuries (from the middle of the 3rd century B.C. until the second century A.D.) by the Sātavāhana dynasty and later by the Ikṣvākus (3rd century A.D.).

It seems to me, there cannot be the slightest doubt, that Buddha was supposed to have preached the Mantrayāna in general and especially the Kālacakra Mūlatantra at the well-known and famous Stūpa of Dhānyakaṭaka in the Guntur district. It might just be mentioned that Dhānyakaṭaka during the time of the developing Mahāyāna according to the Kathāvatthu was also the sphere of activities of progressive schools like the Pūrvašailīya, Aparašailīya and Cetika[1]. Therefore it is understandable that also the latest Buddhist system in India, the Kālacakra, was believed to have originated at that holy place.

(The problem of Buddha's preaching of the Kālacakra Tantra will be resumed later by me and published as no. 2 of my "Kālacakra Studies", including copious additional Sanskrit and Tibetan material).

1. Rāhula Sāṅkrityāyana, Recherches bouddhiques, *JA* 1934, p. 195 ff.

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ABOUT THE SCRIBES AND THEIR ACHIEVEMENTS IN AŚOKA'S INDIA

BY

KLAUS LUDWIG JANERT (Cologne)

It is well known that many features of India's cultural development derive from the activity of its ancient priesthood. But of the introduction and earliest use of writing the same is unlikely to be true. The Brahmins had no pressing need of a written literature in the early period. Their liturgical formulae were, through the centuries, committed to memory by a unique educational system of mnemonic devices that preserved accent and syllable with utter fidelity from generation to generation. It would, therefore, be scarcely wrong to assume that writing and its techniques in Ancient India arose, presumably under the impact of foreign example, to satisfy the practical and administrative needs of the larger states of those times.

Our oldest surviving evidence on any scale for early Indian scribal activity is secular in character and content. It consists of inscriptions which, at the express desire of their imperial promulgator, the Devānaṃpiya, King Aśoka, were recorded on the well-nigh imperishable substance of prepared rock-face and stone pillar. Thus we have direct access to written material of the 3rd century B.C. through which we can study early, though not the earliest, scribal activity of Ancient India.

The inscriptions are found scattered over different and often widely separated parts of the country and it must be assumed that these imperial edicts were conveyed orally or in writing by royal messengers from the capital Pāṭaliputta (present-day Patna) on the lower Ganges in Eastern India. To judge by the chronology the edicts contain, they must have been composed and written down within a space of a very few years or, at most, of decades.

I have already attempted to show from specific details in the form and content of Brāhmī inscriptions of various parts of India that both a constituted officialdom and government records must have existed during the 3rd century B.C. even in provincial centres of the Maurya Empire. (Cf. Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft 115. 1965, pp. 90 f.) Now for the study of scribal activity in Aśoka's time there is one factor of outstanding importance. Beside various isolated inscriptional records exists a series of texts, differing in greater or lesser degree, that were inscribed almost simultaneously in various parts of India. For our purpose it is naturally the epigraphs showing the greatest textual similarity that are the most interesting. It is in them that we may expect to find the clearest evidence for the rôle of

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the individual scribe and in so doing uncover in greater detail the scribal practices of those times.

In such an endeavour our chief consideration must go to certain versions of the Major Rock Edicts and more particularly to the entire series of the Major Pillar Edicts I—VI.

The pillars on which the latter have been found are six in all and have so far been discovered in three parts of India. These are, firstly, to the North-West in the Upper Gangetic Doab, secondly, at the confluence of the Ganges and Jumna and, thirdly, to the East of the Doab. The latter region contains what may be called the South-Eastern Group with pillars at Lauriyā Ararāj (Ara), Lauriyā Nandangarh (Nan) and Rāmpurvā (Rām). From the North-West we have the Tōprā (Tōp) and Mīraṭh (Mīr) pillars, while the remaining one at Allāhābād stands in isolation and, since certain features are absent from it, will not be considered here. (Abbreviations, etc. according to Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Asoka.* 1924, p. 231.)

As is known, the wording of these Pillar Edicts I–VI is almost everywhere the same. Nevertheless differences may be observed in respect of two distinct features and it is with these that we are particularly concerned here. They may appear at first sight entirely different but they are in fact connected and were employed as technical devices by each of the scribes responsible for preparing the master copies from which the existing epigraphs were made.

In the South-Eastern Group the first of these peculiarities consists in the frequent occurrence of short final vowels in words ending in a simple vowel where grammatically long vowels would be required, e. g. *pūjita* in the nominative plural instead of *pūjitā* "were honoured"; in the North-Western Group the contrary occurs and long vowels frequently replace the grammatically correct short finals as in the genitive singular form *lokasā* for *lokasa* "of the world". The second feature consists in the peculiar distribution of spaces within the otherwise continuous lines of the inscription. This phenomenon is found both in the North-West and in the South-East.

It is our intention to show that both features will, on closer investigation, yield clear and readily comprehensible underlying principles. We further propose to show that by their application each scribe was reproducing with amazing accuracy the speech patterns characterising the formal delivery or recitation before him of the edicts.

In the versions of the edicts under discussion spaces within the lines are frequent and occur particularly after groups of two or more words. It is my conclusion that this spacing can scarcely be anything other than a form of notation for pauses made during the recitation of the edicts and which the

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scribes each recorded in this fashion : I think it probable, therefore, that the spaces represent the pauses made during the formal recitation of the imperial edicts by the messengers despatched into the provinces from the capital city of Pāṭaliputta.

In support of this I would point to the following inscriptional evidence. In the Pillar Edicts I–VI of the South-East and North-West no monosyllabic word is written separately from its neighbours in the sentence (except once in Rām III B). This observation applies equally to enclitics such as *hi* and *me,* etc. (including the repeated word in expressions like *taṃ = taṃ,* or *suve = suve* corresponding to Skt. *śvaḥ = śvaḥ)*; to 'proclitics' such as *ā,* and *nā, no* or *mā;* and to monosyllabic pronominal forms like *maṃ, se, taṃ, te,* etc. In this connection disyllables too have as it were no independent status but generally combine with other words into an unspaced sequence. Nor are adjectives and demonstrative pronouns as a rule separated from the noun they qualify.

In the five sets of edicts under discussion (i. e., in Ara, Nan, Rām, and Tōp, Mīr) two kinds of pause may be determined. Firstly we distinguish those due to syntactical causes, i. e., grammatical pauses occurring with great regularity. Secondly we observe pauses which often do not correspond in the same passage of the five sets of edicts, and which appear to be inserted more or less independently of any syntactical considerations; such pauses must, therefore, represent the subjective prosodic preferences of those reciting the edicts.

The grammatical pauses, which were presumably obligatory for the speaker of the edicts, occur in the following situations : (1) after every sentence, (2) after a predicate followed by a qualifying substantival phrase, as in *savapīsaṃḍā = pi = me = pūjitā vividhāya = pūjāyā* (VI E), (3) between two words loosely in apposition, such as *paṃnavīsati baṃdhanamokhāni* (=) *kaṭāni* (V L), (4) after every item in an enumeration or listing, (5) where in a sentence *nā, no* or *mā* and the word thus negated follow, as in III F *kālanena = va = hakaṃ mā = palibhasayisaṃ* (= *ti*).

The accuracy of notation with which both kinds of pause in the recitation of the edicts is rendered also appears most clearly in the treatment of simple vowels at the end of words in the edicts of the North-Western and South-Eastern Groups. In order rightly to assess this accuracy we must set out below the principles, discernible in the inscriptions in question, upon which the peculiar variations of quantity occurring in the notation of such simple vowels are based. In this statement I will confine myself to the regular operation of these principles without going into questions either of historical linguistics or of inconsistency of spelling. Such inconsistency was presumably inevitable,

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especially in the notation of long ā–vowels or short a–vowels before a pause, as it may be assumed that the scribes of the South-East would, in certain cases, have recorded sounds pronounced by messengers of the same region otherwise than would the scribes of the distant North-West when they took down the pronunciation of the imperial messengers from the metropolitan centre in the South-East.

In the inscriptions of the South-East original short *–a, –i, –u* as word finals remain unchanged. (When = *ti* follows, however, we have *–ā, –ī, –ū,* and *–ā* when = *pi* follows.) The same holds good for the corresponding long vowels if they are followed by an enclitic. Where no enclitic followed the scribes regularly noted the corresponding short symbol at the end of words of two or more syllables. With this formal statement the occurrence, as even a few examples show, is clearly and completely described. Examples of short vowels with following enclitic : *janasa = ca, vaḍhīsati = ceva;* examples of long vowels with following enclitic : *ichā = hi = me, sūkalī = ca*; examples of short vowels without following enclitic : *agena = bhayena, kiyaṃ = cu = dhaṃme = ti*; examples of long vowels without following enclitic : *viyata = dhāti (=), piyadasi = lāja.*

The principles governing the North-Western inscriptions are formally no less clear and regular. But the individual master-scribe who, as I have already tried to show, must have taken down the edicts from direct recitation, may here be said to have exhibited an even higher level of training and accuracy. I conclude this from the following evidence. In the versions of the North-West we encounter the same principles in regard to vowel quantity as were noted above but with one important difference. Where in the South-Eastern versions we invariably find short *–a* in final position when no enclitic follows, in the North-West this short *–a* is regularly replaced by a long *–ā* whenever a pause follows. (An exception sometimes occurs when *–a* stands before the initial short *a–* or long *ā–* of the next word.)

As I have said, I do not propose to discuss here the possible reasons for this peculiar and exclusively North-Western vowel-lengthening of word-final short *–a* before a pause. I wish instead to draw attention to a basic conclusion from my observations. This is that the epigraphs of both the North-West and South-East agree in exhibiting unmodified the quantities of simple vowels in word-final position only where such finals are followed by an enclitic.

The evidence of the inscriptions bears this out as much for final *–ă* and *–ā* as for *–ĭ* and *–ī* and *–ŭ* and *–ū*. Now although the latter two vowels are most often found short we nevertheless encounter, and only in the North-West (unless we except a single occurrence in Nan IV D), eleven sporadic

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instances with morphologically irrelevant long *–ī* or *–ū*, and that where a pause follows. Now if we examine the nature of such pauses after *–ī* and *–ū* we come to a remarkable conclusion. The incidence of such *–ī* and *–ū* notations at the end of a word is confined entirely to contexts where the word is followed not by a rhythmic but by a grammatical pause ; so at the end of a sentence : II B Tōp *dhaṃme = sādhū* as against *s(ādhu)* in Mīr, III B Mīr *(k) ayāne = kaṭ (e) = tī* as against *= ti* in Tōp, V B Tōp *naca = khādayatī* (lacuna at Mīr), V I Mīr *n(o = [haṃ])taviy(ā)nī* as against *= haṃtaviyāni* in Tōp, IV D Tōp *kaṃmāni = pavatayevū* (lacuna at Mīr), and after an inserted relative clause : V I Mīr *(j)īvanikāyānī* as against *jīvanikāyāni* in Tōp; or after an item in a sequence of different, syntactically equivalent parts of a sentence, independent from each other : V B Tōp *daḷī* (lacuna at Mīr), V C Tōp *([ajakā = nā]n)ī* (lacuna at Mīr), I E Tōp *anuvidhīyaṃtī* (lacuna at Mīr), II G Mīr *anupaṭipajaṃ(t)ū* as against *= anupaṭipajaṃtu* in Tōp, IV D Tōp *= upadahevū* (lacuna at Mīr).

Whilst the occurrence of final *–ĭ* and *–ŭ* where a pause follows is usual, we feel that these eleven instances of final *–ī* and *–ū* justify the following conclusion. In the course of recitation the scribes of the North-West would have perceived no special or striking pronunciation of word-final *–i* or *–u* before a rhythmically conditioned pause. Their recourse to final *–ī* or *–ū* would seem to show that they occasionally perceived and noted in the manner described a change in utterance where a speech-break of the grammatical type followed.

I think that also this apparently insignificant detail will contribute to a revision of many of the views held hitherto about writing in Ancient India, particularly where the early scribes and their achievements are concerned.

(Reprint from : Janert, Verzeichnung von Sprechabstaenden und Vokalquantitaeten am Wortende in fruehen indischen Textniederschriften. Wiesbaden 1971, Introduction.)

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POSSIBILITIES AND LIMITS OF CO-OPERATION IN THE PRODUCTION PROCESS OF INDIAN AGRICULTURE

BY

K. H. JUNGHANS (Bonn)

In several developing countries we still find various forms of traditional co-operation in the sphere of agricultural production. The Gotong Royong of Indonesia and the Irrigation Societies of Madagaskar are well-known examples. Attempts have been made to utilize these old institutions as basis for modern co-operatives to promote economic development. The results of the experiments, however, are somewhat disappointing. Due to the fact that along with a progressing economy a process of disintegration within the traditional rural society takes place, most of its economic group activities like co-operation in the sphere of agricultural production also cease to exist.

On the other hand, however, a few examples have become known in which such old communal institutions became the central core for modern co-operatives.

Trappe[1] takes the view that the success of such transformation depends to a large extent on the social structure of the rural society in transition. Schiller[2] too has commented similarly. In the same connection, however, he points out the importance of the economic forces being involved. As an example he quotes the difficulties which result in respect of such traditional forms of co-operation that had originally been conceived for tasks in the subsistence agriculture and were then expected to continue functioning under the conditions of market production. Ruthenberg[3] emphasizes even more strongly the economic forces in the process of transformation and expresses doubts whether sociological analysis of the rural society alone is adequate for explaining the procedural sequence.

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1. Trappe, P. : "Die Entwicklungsfunktion des Genossenschaftswesens unter Berücksichtigung vorgegebener Sozialstrukturen" (The development function of the co-operative system with regard to already existing social structures), Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft, No. 118, 1962

2. Schiller, O. : "Kooperation in der Landwirtschaft (Co-operation in farming) in : Blanckenburg von, P. & Cremer, H. D. : Handbuch der Landwirtschaft und Ernährung in den Entwicklungsländern, Vol. 1, Stuttgart 1967

3. Ruthenberg, H. : Book Review : Trappe, P. : "Entwicklungsfunktion des Genossenschaftswesens" (Development function of the co-operative system) in : Zeitschrift für ausländische Landwirtschaft. Vol. 6 No. 4, 1967

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While investigating the impact of industrialization on rural development in the hinterland of Rourkela Steelplant/Orissa [1] we had the opportunity to study such a traditional rural co-operation within the process of social change and economic progress. The findings provide us with information which may be helpful in the discussion of the value of traditional co-operations for modern agricultural development.

Among the tribals of Rourkela hinterland mutual help in agricultural production was institutionalized for centuries in the "Pancha". The main tasks of the panchas were the construction of farm and domestic buildings, the establishing and improvement of rice terraces in difficult terrain, the hunting of animals which cause damage to crops and the repairing of rice field dams after flood disasters.

As already stated above, the pancha loses its importance with increasing industrialization. In villages close to industry it has, therefore, completely stopped functioning.

Searching for the reasons of this development we interviewed 500 farmers in 4 villages in the hinterland of Rourkela. Here are the findings :

1. *Disintegration of the pancha due to alternate employment opportunities :*

Regional industrialization provides non-agricultural employment for the rural population. Not only landless labourers but also sons of well-to-do farmers are becoming steelworkers or part-time farmers, respectively. Participation in pancha work ceases to be of interest for them. At the same time relatively high cash income makes them less dependent on collective efforts to achieve certain economic benefits. Building work is done by hired professionals because the higher quality of their work tends to satisfy the rising demands of the new industrial labourer more than the poor workmanship of the pancha. The construction of rice dams is also done by hired labour. Hunting of animals discontinues because, along with a growing physical infrastructure, wild life is reduced remarkably and much less a danger to the crops than before.

2. *Disintegration of panchas due to the different level of innovation :*

The growing steel city of Rourkela provides a large market for agricultural products. The comparatively high prices attract farmers towards transforming their traditional subsistence agriculture into a more market oriented form of

1. Junghans, K. H. : "Einfluss der regionalen Industrialisierung auf die landwirtschaftliche Entwicklung übervölkerter Agrargebiete Südasiens — das Beispiel Rourkela" (Influence of regional industrialization on overpopulated agrarian areas in South-East-Asia — the example of Rourkela), Habitilationsschrift der philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Heidelberg; 1969

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production. Not all farmers of a village, however, participate in this development at the same time and to the same degree : several economic, social and psychological factors vary the process of this innovation. The economic goals of the village community become, therefore, divided. The farmers are no more united in their aim to achieve selfsufficiency in the basic food crops, especially rice. While several of them start thinking in terms of profit and profit maximization others still have a traditional economic outlook. The lack of a common economic goal seems to be a decisive factor in the process of disintegration of the panchas.

At the same time, while the dispute about the pancha was still going on in the villages, several of those farmers who had objected to and finally left the traditional forms of co-operation founded modern co-operatives to promote vegetable cultivation.

This requires an entirely new form of tillage, that is cultivation by irrigation. In the area under investigation crop farming can only be carried on successfully in the dry season from January to June with the aid of irrigation. Since there are no storage lakes or natural water reservoirs, the farmers are dependent on wells. Due to the rocky subsoil, the construction of modern tube-wells is quite out of the question. Draw-wells are in use which are generally 3 to 5 m wide and 10 to 15 m deep. They supply an adequate amount of water, permitting intensive vegetable cultivation over an area of 0.5 to 0.75 ha of field. The costs of construction are fairly high; they range between Rs. 800, — to 1800, — according to the individual effort and means of the owner. On the other hand, there are hardly any regular maintenance costs since the walls of the well are built in granite stone and the drawing equipment consists of a water raising system which the farmers make up themselves from bamboo poles. A certain amount of effort has to be put into the construction of an enclosing wall which protects the irrigated fields from grazing cattle and thieves. Mostly, however, this can be erected by the farmers themselves.

We investigated a total of 28 such vegetable-growing units. The explanations which follow relate to the data and results of our interrogations obtained during this survey.[1] Approximately half of all the units were privately owned, the others were organized on a co-operative basis. In case of the latter, the procedure consisted in a farmer providing land suitable for the well and the irrigation system, the other members meeting the costs of construction and installation. The land suitable for irrigation was then divided into equal

1. Mr. Ruge, M. A. and Mr. Nielander, M. A. were my assistants during this investigation. I owe them a debt of gratitude for their conscientious work.

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parts and distributed to all the participants. In most instances, the position of landownership had not been modified by new title deeds. This is with reference to verbally agreed upon land-utilization rights and not to co-operative land-ownership in the legal sense. Each member was awarded the same water rights, i.e. he was allowed to draw water twice a week for a certain time from the well. The cultivation of the garden allotments was left to the individual farmer. On the other hand, a co-operative purchase of seeds and fertilizers had been organized here and there. Marketing was attended to individually by the producer.

One may call these institutions "co-operations in the field of agricultural production with partial integration in cultivation". Partial integration inasmuch as only one of the branches of production, i. e. vegetable cultivation, is being pursued co-operatively.

In the Table we have assembled the reasons which, according to the statements made by the farmers, have given rise to co-operative or private vegetable cultivation.

TABLE

The significance of natural and socio-economic production factors for establishing individually and co-operatively run vegetable-growing farms in the hinterland of Rourkela :

Form of cultivation	Stimulating attributes	Production factors	Stimulating attributes	Form of cultivation
	Favourable	Natural production factors	Unfavourable	
	Land consolidated	Land fragmentation	Divided into allotments	
Individual cultivation	Wealthy	Rural pecuniary circumstances	Poor	Co-operative cultivation
	High	Industrial part-time earnings	Low	
	High	Labour potential of the farm families	Low	
	High	Degree of Literacy	Low	

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(1) In the first place natural locational factors were quoted with particular reference to the land. In order to be able to lay out a wall-irrigated vegetable garden, the farmer must possess an even piece of ground which, of course, has to be at a higher level than the rice fields to prevent swamping during the monsoon period; on the other hand the land should not be located too high above the terraced fields since there was danger of the water level dropping during the hot season and the well drying out. Those farmers who did not have suitable land at their disposal, therefore, frequently joined hands with neighbours who owned such a piece of land.

(2) The fragmentation of land had similar significance. With furlongs subdivided into allotments, the individual farmers were often not in a position to utilize the entire water capactity of the well for cultivating vegetables on their own land. This in turn jeopardized the amortization of the capital invested. Only farmers' associations comprising agricultural neighbours would create the required large farming units.

(3) The willingness for co-operation in the field of production was strongly influenced by the pecuniary circumstances of the farmers. The system of granting credits stimulated joint efforts of small farm units. The credit-worthiness of a farm was measured by the current commercial value of land which could serve as a collateral up to 60%. Pooling the land increased the credit-worthiness considerably. However, this contained an inherent danger for the co-operative effort as will be demonstrated by the following observation.

> In two of the co-operative units investigated a credit organization had yielded to the insistence of the farmers and financed particularly large wells equipped with motor-driven pumps. In each instance the irrigated area was 1 ha. Thus vegetable cultivation reached a size which the simple member farmers could no longer cope with. In addition, through installation of pumps a standard of engineering had been attained which was far beyond the technical knowledge of the co-operators. Due to inexpert handling these pump units soon became unserviceable and remained unused. The co-operatives would now be burdened for years to come with the amortization of the pump credits. This example should serve as a warning to those who believe that, by a co-operative effort in the sector of production, they can decisively improve the credit-worthiness of an agricultural unit.
>
> Secondly, there was a managerial problem in utilizing the credits granted to co-operatives. As stated above, the credit-worthiness of an agricultural unit was measured by the current commercial value of the

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land which could serve as a collateral up to 60%. An average size unit in the area under investigation, i. e. 2.0 ha, would possess a credit-worthiness of Rs. 1500. — to 2000. — based upon this valuation formula. In the event of 10 owners of such units associating to form an agricultural co-operative for cultivating the land, the credit-worthiness of the co-operative would then arithmetically amount to Rs. 15 000, — to 20 000, —. In practice, however, hardly anyone of the member farmers would be in a position to administratively deal with and productively utilize a sum which to him must appear positively enormous. Our experience demonstrates that vegetable-growing co-operatives in the area under investigation work best if borrowing does not exceed double the credit-worthiness of a co-operating individual unit. The productive application of a Rs. 2 — 3000, — type of credit neither overtaxes the managerial capacity of the member farmers nor does its repayment excessively burden the budget of the co-operative if it had not resulted in the anticipated rise in production. In the developing countries the level of education of the members and their ability of conducting their own affairs will have to be given more attention for rating their credit-worthiness than this would be the case in the economically more developed countries.

(4) With increasing wealth the interest in co-operative work diminished. As a motif for such behaviour the shortcomings in the production system of the co-operative installations were mentioned to us. The water capacity of the draw-wells was limited and, as described above, was only sufficient for a maximum of 0.75 ha of vegetable cultivation. If several farmers had to share this area, there was mostly not enough land for offering all the members of the co-operative full employment. Only when each family had its own well, would the irrigated area suffice for the utilization of the full labour capacity of the family. Then no family member had to migrate into industry. Quite on the contrary, a certain return of the migrants had already been observed. We interviewed several vegetable growers who used to work in Rourkela as landless farmers. By intensive saving they had accumulated capital, built their own well and laid out a fairly large vegetable garden. After that, they gave up their employment in industry and now lived as wealthy vegetable farmers in the village. We have never come across a single case in which industrial workers returned to a vegetable-growing co-operative.

(5) However, the value of these co-operatives should not exclusively be rated after the level of employment of their member families. Co-operative efforts in the agricultural production field also possess marked instructional

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functions in the process of developing modern agricultural techniques. We have met cases involving numerous farmers who, in fact, had left the co-operative for the reasons mentioned above and now possessed a vegetable garden of their own. In their statements they stressed on several occasions that they had seperated from the co-operative without quarrel and trouble. They "understood enough about vegetable growing and had saved enough money in order to go in for vegetable cultivation on their own piece of land". The essence and purpose of co-operation signified the following to these farmers : to familiarize themselves with vegetable growing, to guard against the initial business risk and to accumulate capital of their own with the help of favourable production credits. After the co-operative had fulfilled its task, the farmers returned to the individual form of economy. Participation in the co-operative effort brought them advantages only. Admittedly, this behaviour pattern appears to be particularly typical for farmers with a good education. Each of the persons interrogated was able to read and write, some had even completed an intermediate school.

The observations from Rourkela hinterland lead us to the following conclusion : traditional co-operation in the field of agricultural production is an attempt on the part of rural families to reach an economic goal through collective measures which the individual family is unable to attain. The will for teamwork thus results from mutual estimation of the means and the aim. This consensus of opinion is disturbed if, due to the technological progress, the economic set of data relating to agricultural production changes, thereby necessitating a remodelling of the process of production itself. Then indeed, the economic aim and the appraisal of economic means of the rural families are also to be modified. It becomes necessary for the farmers to seize fresh economic opportunities. Careful consideration has to be given whether new aims and tasks should be pursued in connection with an individual unit or co-operative undertaking. The weaker the economic efficiency of the farm unit, the more its owner will be inclined towards co-operative measures in the production field. If the collective effort has turned out successful and has effectively improved the economic conditions of the member units, the farmers are again confronted with the question whether they should continue on their economic path alone or as part of a co-operative. Frequently their decision turns towards independent farm units. This step, however, does not mean that the farmers disapprove the co-operative for all times. They have merely left the existing co-operative institution as a strictly rational economic consequence to the latter having fulfilled its purpose and the envisaged economic aim having been achieved.

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For this form of flexible membership it is also highly essential to preserve the principle of voluntariness. Particularly in developing countries it is frequently brushed aside carelessly. There are indeed cases in which a certain production process, for example of co-operative cattle keeping, required such a degree of integration of member units that a return to individual farming proved difficult at a later stage. Such cases, however, are more rare than commonly assumed. Generally, there are other non-economic causes which lead to "over-integrations", i. e. to forms of co-operation in which functions of production are carried out collectively for achieving the desired economic aim.

A typical example in this respect is the attempt by India to make co-operative farming the predominating form of agricultural land utilization. It started with a parliamentary debate on May 28th, 1958, when with a great deal of powerful emotion but also with commendable expert knowledge the members of Parliament discussed the pros and cons of land consolidation. When a disapproving majority began to form, Nehru personally intervened in the debate and pleaded in a most brilliant speech in favour of co-operative farming.[1] He won over the house by sheer enthusiasm. Consequently, a parliamentary resolution was drafted in which the introduction of co-operative farming was formulated as an urgent agro-political objective. That the individual farming unit was conceded a chance for the future at all was due to the well-founded appeal by Ram Subhag Singh who formulated a compromise suggestion at the last minute.[2] We know today that the idea of co-operative farming has not found many supporters amongst the Indian farmers. If one disregards areas of new settlement there are only very few villages cultivating their fields on a co-operative basis. The farmers obviously considered co-operation in the field of production under the principle of economic utility and arrived at a disapproving conclusion.

The example of the vegetable-growing co-operative shows that the co-operative effort has limits of practical application in the agricultural field of pro-

1. Nehru, J. : "Co-operative Farming", Secretariat Lok Sabha, New Delhi 1959.

2. The original resolution proposed reads as follows : "This House recommends that the question of introducing co-operative farming be given top priority in the programme of all land reforms and agricultural development in the country". Singh's compromise formula which Parliament accepted runs : "This House recommends that during the next three years every possible effort should be made to organise Service Co-operatives all over the country and to develop the spirit of co-operation in general so that Co-operative Farms may be set up voluntarily by the people concerned wherever conditions are mature".

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duction. There are economic aims and agricultural production processes — in our case the introduction of vegetable growing with the aim of fully employing all family members — for which forms of organization other than the co-operative are more suitable. Co-operatives in the field of agricultural production are expedients, but not a solution for raising production. The more, however, the aspect of "momentary expediency" is a deciding factor in the application of co-operative work, the more diverse will its tasks and use become. It is then that the co-operative effort in the sphere of production might lose all its inflexibility and formality and could turn into a dynamic force in the agricultural process of development.

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THE EQUILIBRIUM IN THE METABOLISM OF THE SEA

BY

JOHANNES KREY (Kiel)

In the past decade marine research was focussed on the Indian Ocean. An enormous increase of information in all branches of this science was obtained, besides altogether new aspects of marine problems esp. in the theoretical field were revealed. One of the theoretical results in the special section of planktology lies in the following considerations, which were initiated by the active participation of the author in the expedition on board RV. 'Meteor'. It is intended to stimulate necessary basic research work at different areas in the Indian Ocean under extreme conditions : extremely poor and extremely eutrophized tropical and antarctic water bodies, both in deep and shallow waters. The coast of India presents such a wonderful diversity of environmental factors that it will be easy under given circumstances to contribute significant results to this central topic.

A discussion of this complex of problems must be reduced to considering special interrelations or, better still, a web of interrelations. These ultimately result in a quasi-constant crop of plankton organisms, of their accumulation – and their decomposition products and finally in the base of all these, including the energy and the nutrients. Cushing (1959–, b) and Steele (1959) proposed some reference lines for such a system. In their papers there is frequent mention of the large gaps in our knowledge of the life processes in the sea and even of the metabolism within the organisms' lance of matter in the sea. Despite this, I am going to discuss the subject in order to stimulate thinking about it.

First, the different actors in the system must be presented. There are at least five of them : phytoplankton, zooplankton, limiting nutrients, light, and the turbulence of the water. A sixth one, 'tripton', that is, detritus plus inorganic particulate matter has hitherto been known to a very limited extent only. The equilibrium between these 'actors' is a very delicate one. We must observe it in respect of a limited water volume as well as for a surface unit, e. g. m^2, or even better — because of migration organisms — a km^2, taken from the very surface to the bottom. From the theoretical point of view we cannot expect an equilibrium in its precise sense at any time or place. This may only be illustrated by the example given by the very variable atmospheric influence on our system, e. g. seasonal and local variations. This

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is moreover supported by the physical heterogenity which we observe in the wide ocean as well as in shallow waters, which present to us both a macro- as well as a microstructure as also a very mobile system of different water bodies in one constant place of observation. It is a matter of principal consideration how we shall limit the idea of an equilibrium or a balance of this multilateral system; naturally, if we take the tolerance between 10^{-1} to 10^{1} we shall probably always observe a so-called equilibrium. But if we are more ambitious and draw the limits closer, we must detect instabilities or — as we must call it in a more biological sense — states of a dynamic balance.

Phytoplankton

Let us start with the biological motor of nearly all the life in the sea, the phytoplankton.

The taxonomy of phytoplankton, as well as some of its biological, ecological, and physiological factors, is well known. For example, the work of Braarud et al. (1953) in 1948 gives an excellent picture of the population over the entire North Sea. Only one other survey is comparable, but it is for a much larger area, the South Atlantic (Hentschel, 1936). Both these investigations of necessity lack one most important component, time.

Also in this respect we may hope today that in a few years the Indian Ocean will be the best known — as a result of the huge efforts throughout the IIOE and the atlases based on this material.

Obviously, much good work on the phytoplankton cycle has been carried out at coastal stations throughout the year. Lohmann (1908) was perhaps the first to take not only a quantitative census of the phytoplankton species but also calculate the total biomass, expressed as cubic millimeters per 100 liters. He also compared the food requirements of the standing zooplankton crop with the available abundance of the phytoplankton and found that during the winter the zooplankton must feed on detritus to a very large extent.

Despite this early work and following efforts many problems centering on the phytoplankton population in the oceans are still unsolved. Our attention must first turn to the activities of phytoplankton, the first component in the system considered here. The dark-light bottle method for oxygen production and that of C^{14} fixation were milestones in the development of our understanding of its role. Yet there is much more to be done. Productivity, for example, must be correlated with the standing crop. In short, we must know the rate of assimilation more exactly. This varies between three and thirty in relation to the life histories of individual phytoplankton species. It may

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be possible to correlate productivity not only with chlorophyll concentration but also with the truly active substance within the cells, the proteins.

In general, phytoplankton assimilates material until no more nutrients are present in the surrounding water provided that there is sufficient light available and that there are no inhibiting substances present to prevent this activity (Steemann Nielsen, 1955; Jørgensen, 1956). This activity of the phytoplankton may utilize all the specific nutrients, which then become limiting factors within a few days or perhaps a few weeks. In the sea, this process is much more rapid than on land. Unfortunately, our knowledge of the assimilation potential and more especially of the reverse, the decomposition under natural conditions, is relatively limited. We must try to relate these two processes with the active substance in the phytoplankton, the proteins. Special attention should also be given to the respiration of the phytoplankton when there is insufficient light.

Zooplankton

The second actor, the zooplankton, has held the attention of so many zoologists and zoological specialists engaged in general marine research that the systematics seem fairly well known. In addition, we are somewhat familiar with its distribution in space and time and with its physiology. Between the pioneer work of Lohmann (1908), who determined the annual cycle of individual species and the zooplankton volumes, and the excellent work of Vinogradov and Bogorov, who investigated the quantitative distribution of the zooplankton biomass, the methods have markedly improved, and valuable results have now been obtained at many localities in the deep sea. We may cite Bogorov's (1957) and Zenkevich's figures for the biomass of living zooplankton, namely, an average at the surface (0 – 50 m) of almost 50 mg/m^3 (living fresh weight) and between 6000 m and 8500 m of only 1, 7 mg/m^3. Very little is known, on the other hand, about the physiological responses of the zooplankton, and by far not enough about its metabolism and its food requirements. Therefore, the work of Conover (1959) on the respiration rate of copepods is of greatest importance.

In connection with these unanswered questions, I draw attention to an important problem, the base of reference to be used in all metabolic measurements. We cannot refer to the length of the individual bodies or their lifeweight. By that we include many inert materials, such as the skeleton, reverse material and differences in water content. In this connection, we may cite MacFadyan's (1957) 'Animal Ecology', which has an excellent discussion based on terrestrial organisms. C. Barker Jørgensen (1955) has

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added to this by summarizing what is known of the food intake of marine filter-feeding animals and based some of his computations on nitrogen. With modern methods, we can make routine basic analyses for proteins and particulate carbon and thus improve our knowledge in this field.

Limiting Nutrients

The quantity of limiting nutrients in ionic solution is the third parameter. Everybody engaged in marine research is familiar with the role of nitrogen and phosphorus and other elements important in biology, such as copper, manganese, cobalt and iron, as has been so ably summarized e.g. by Harvey (1955). The quantity distribution of the major constituents is best known by the inorganic compounds of the total phosphorus. As an example, I draw attention to the lengthy description of the Po_4^{3-} — P concentrations in the South Atlantic (Wattenberg, 1957).

At this juncture we must point out that inorganic phosphate — P is not very characteristic for the state of eutrophication of any surface area of the world's oceans. Total P gives a far better idea about the fertility because inorganic P is quickly assimilated by the phytoplankton.

The respiration processes of zooplankton and bacteria and the dynamic processes which bring nutrient-rich water to the surface are of particular interest. Everybody knows the areas of upwelling in the ocean. The activity of the large currents should also receive special attention, e.g., because on their left-hand boundary in the northern hemisphere, deep water is brought to the surface layers. Thus, there is a eutrophic zone closely connected with mixing caused by these currents. We might add that the role of heavy storms of long duration in the ocean should not be underestimated in the part they play in maintaining the supply of nutrients. In addition, we urgently need better methods of analysis for the different components of total phosphorus and total nitrogen in ionic solution. These new techniques are essential if we are to make analyses on shipboard in sufficient numbers. Moreover, we urgently need direct methods for the estimation of these vertical moving currents, which supply the surface waters with deep sea water which is rich in nutrients.

One question mentioned by Lucas (1961) is of the greatest importance, namely, the role of organic substances in solution. Their activity takes place in two different ways. They may contribute to the nutrition of filter-feeding animals only when absorbed on suspended particles. They become concentrated there and then may serve as the foci for development of a population of bacte-

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ria. Secondly, organic substances may act as inhibiting factors, as shown by Steemann Nielsen (1955) and by E. G. Jørgensen (1956).

Light

We know the role of light, the fourth component, as the source of energy for the production of organic matter and for the phototropic orientation of animals and plants in an aquatic environment. Jerlov (1951) has done much good work in this field. We would, however, be very happy, from the viewpoint of basic productivity in the oceans, to know more about the annual cycle of light in different areas of the oceans and at various depths. These observations could well be made outboard weather ships together with measurements of the depth of the thermocline. In this connection, too, I may point out that marine biologists should pay much more attention to the dynamics of the water masses in the oceans, especially to their heterogeneous physical and chemical characteristics, as well as to their past 'history'.

Interrelations

We must next consider other interrelations. First, let us examine the activity within the phytoplankton cells themselves. When sufficient light is available, they will grow rapidly until the major nutrient constituents in the sorrounding water fall below the minimum concentration required for their physiological processes. In any given body of water, the amount of living matter increases while that of e. g. phosphorus compounds continuously decreases, Under no conditions is a steady balance maintained, except in its final state, when no more phosphorus is available. Here, then, we do not have a static balance but a dynamic one. But even in this final state, when all the nutrients in the water have been depleted, including those absorbed as an 'internal reserve' one cannot speak of a stable or an exact balance. The phytoplankton cell itself continues to metabolize, e.g. the phosphorus released is a measure of the decomposition of the living matter when there is insufficient light. During the day, organic substances rebuild with the phosphorus lost during the night. Thus the balance is not static, even when the total number of cells remains constant. Hence, one can speak of an 'oscillating balance'. The period and the amplitude for this system depends on the length and intensity of the light exposure as well as on individual factors 'of activity'.

If we now turn from a single cell to a pure culture, we may perhaps expect that these oscillations are somewhat stabilized by the different sizes and ages of the cells. This supposition may be carried further when we have a standing stock of different species and even classes of phytoplankton organisms. Here

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we urgently need an exact analysis of the biochemical and physiological processes which take place. It would be interesting to learn whether the total quantity of organic matter, especially of proteins, oscillates even when the total number of cells remains constant.

Dotterweich (1940) concluded that even an individual organism cannot attain a balance that is really stable because of the different processes of metabolism. In a biocoenosis, each individual is only one component, but the total stock may become more stable with an increase in the number of different components. According to Friederichs (1930), a balanced biocoenosis is merely theoretical. The more one tries to balance it, the more the equilibrium is disturbed. It should also be pointed out that every balance must be exactly defined. In our case, this means that the total quantity of living matter must be constant when environmental factors remain unchanged.

Let us continue with the discussion of the model. Normally, a population of phytoplankton is dependent on the dynamic water movements in the oceans, especially in the surface layers. Owing to turbulence the phytoplankton is transported into various layers with different light intensities for varying periods of time. Thus the oscillating balance of a single cell may be disturbed and depressed when the cells are carried away from the zone of optimum assimilation. Then decomposition, which forms a part of the total respiration, increases and more phosphorus becomes available. Because of very different activities, the oscillations increase in period. Steele (1959) has demonstrated four different stages in the interaction between the standing stock of phytoplankton and the upper turbulent layer. The extent of this layer becomes critical when the uptake of physiological energy counterbalances the cell requirements. Then light becomes the limiting factor, because the ordinary nutrient constituents which may at times be limited are available in sufficient quantity. The oscillating balance is actually an open unbalanced system. Here it may be called to mind that a relationship exists between two entirely different forms of energy.

In this connection the upper limit of total phytoplankton quantity under one square meter may be of interest. In Burlew's tank experiments, the maximal concentration may reach 3000 mg of chlorophyll under a square meter, if we may assume chlorophyll as representative of the total phytoplankton biomass. In a fjord in Kiel Bay, there were 280 mg/m^2 calculated only for the trophogenic layer. The latter yielded 62, 5 g of dry organic matter in a layer only 2, 5 m thick. The development of phytoplankton is actually a self-limiting process. Extreme concentrations only appear to be in a stable balance

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with their environment. We must expect decomposition when zooplankton preys upon it or when any other environmental factor stimulates the further growth of the standing stock.

The zooplankton bears a relatively simple relationship to our problem of balance, because the reaction is primarily onesided. As long as particulate nutrients are available, the zooplankton will feed on it and grow as quickly as biological conditions allow. Here only one example will be considered, under conditions in which inert material plays a role, namely, when the zooplankton feeds on detritus. Detritus, also called 'tripton', serves as an absorbent for organic matter in solution, but there are, unfortunately, no investigations on its role in the cycle of organic substances in the sea. From investigations, such as those of Marshall and Orr (1955), we may estimate its value. Jannasch (1954) has photographed the bacterial population on the surface of detritus, thus suggesting its nutritive value.

Detritus is the only source of food for all filter-feeding animals in the deep sea, including the sediment feeders. Over sufficiently large areas and periods of times, we might expect a dynamic equilibrium between detritus and filter feeders in the deep sea. This differs in principle from that mentioned above between the phytoplankton and its nutrients because in the former no cycle exists.

In the relationship between living and dead matter, respiration in zooplankton is much more intense than in phytoplankton. It should be mentioned that Cushing (1959) pointed out the role of the zooplankton in the "scattering layer" and compared it with the bottom living animals in the shallow sea.

Because of its relatively high metabolic rate, zooplankton greatly affects the oscillations of the dynamic balance between living and dead material. When a swarm of copepods grazes on a very dense population of phytoplankton, only 10 to 20 % of this food is actually transformed into zooplankton biomass. The remaining 80 % is utilized during metabolism or becomes detritus. In either case, decomposition is relatively rapid. Because of the marked vertical movements of the zooplankton, a different water layer may become enriched with the products of decomposition just mentioned. It is thus removed from the layer where it originated. We know that such accumulations actually exist at depths of, for example, 200 to 400 m. But M. Vinogradov showed a multi-step-system of migrating plankton organisms, which step by step reach even to the bottom of the deep sea over 10 000 m. In this way,

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the oscillating balance is transferred downward. Here, then, the dynamics of the water may serve to distribute materials evenly throughout the mass.

We should next consider how a population reacts in a balanced system. Even should the individuals within it remain stable, it is possible that a population consisting of certain components may almost reach an equilibrium. In a limited body of water the decomposition of the organic substance may equal its assimilation. This process may best be followed by the energy involved. I believe, however, that the oscillating balance of the phytoplankton, which is transferred deeper through grazing by zooplankton, is always disturbed especially by the difference which is needed to decompose compounds in solution. In order to reach a quasi-stable state, we must choose an area and a period of time sufficiently large such as the Indian Ocean. Then allochthonous substances will not be too important. The general bare line of the population density would be relatively constant there. Unfortunately, there are insufficient analyses of total biomass to prove this point with actual data.

These are three examples of relationships which seem to demonstrate the equilibrium between two very different meshes of this web of interrelations of primary production from depth. There are several links or meshes in the web of causalities between these, each of which are well known to us. Further in the Indian and in the Atlantic Ocean I found for the interrelation between primary production and the standing stock of microbiomass in the surface layer a marked difference between northern and tropical waters. This can be explained by differences in the specific metabolism. Beyond this, there exists a correlation between the standing stock of microbiomass and that of the herring catches, which render possible a certain prediction of the latter. Here we know the different "meshes" of the web and know that the very young herrings depend to a great extent on a sufficient supply of good food in a minimum concentration. These observations and calculations may indicate the existence of a large-scale balance, if such may be spoken of. Personally I would always prefer to include the factor of dynamics which is in opposition to the stable balance.

Even if we cannot strictly observe a stable balance between living and dead matter in the ocean, we can determine certain irregularities in the population as a result of the action of the many different processes. In a wide sense we may take this web of relationships as a "parabalance", this term indicating that a stable balance does not exist but that the regularities mentioned above suggest a relatively constant population as a result of the environmental condi-

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tions. It will be a long time before we can draw charts of the total biomass as a result of the dynamic balances in any one ocean for each month of the year. Indeed, even when we do this, we must always remember the heterogeneous conditions and their dynamics.

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MELODY IN WESTERN AND INDIAN MUSIC

BY

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A Western music listener who attends a concert of Indian music for the first time may at first be attracted and impressed by the strangeness of the sound, the particular atmosphere which surrounds the music, or the virtuosity of the musicians. After having listened for a while he will observe that the melody is a continuous flow, and that very often metric-rhythmic configurations occur after the drum has joined in. Possibly our Western listener will soon find that incessant melodic flow and the complexity of the rhythm unbearable, simply because he is unable to discover any shape in this music. If he attempts nevertheless to penetrate into the mysteries of the musical structure he will soon come to the conclusion that it cannot be understood in terms of Western musical experience. Perhaps he will try to discover regularly recurring bar-lengths in the melody, or a motif to hold on to, or a fixed drum rhythm, but his efforts will be in vain.

An Indian who attends one of our symphony concerts for the first time may have a very similar experience. Many melodies are played simultaneously, and sometimes they may even seem to contradict each other; the vertical sonorities or chords which are the result of this simultaneity of several melodies may sometimes seem unpleasant rather than enjoyable to his ear. He will miss the drumming which is so dear to him, and soon he, too, will be trying to discover some sort of shape in this music.

This situation leads to the conclusion that there is a very basic difference between Indian and Western music. A musician or listener who tries to understand the music of another culture, i.e. to become familiar with the musical conventions of another civilization from the performer's or listener's point of view, will first have to get to know the basic principles which govern such music. A relatively easy way to become familiar with the other musical culture is to concentrate on its melodic aspect, since melody plays the most important role in all of Indian music and in a large part of Western music. Still, particularly in their treatment of melody, Western and Indian music reveal some remarkable differences of approach. The most essential melodic elements: (1) metrical organization, (2) periodic structure, (3) tone groups and melodic figures, (4) the organization of pitches in scalar formations and (5) ornamentation in both musical cultures, will be dicussed and compared in order to make these differences clear.

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In Western musical tradition most pieces on the operatic and concert repertoire show some form of metrical organization, to the Western musician or listener this means a form of organization of the melody — and of the harmonic progressions which accompany it — in or by measures. In Western music the *measure* is understood to be the smallest metrical unit of a melody or of a piece in which several melodies are heard simultaneously. The measure and its predecessor, the *tactus*, have not always had the same function; this function has changed gradually in the course of the history of Western music, but an essential feature of the tactus and the measure has always been that they contained a fixed number of time units or beats. Rhythmical organization of these time units occur when some—and especially the first — of them are marked by a stress and thus emphasized, while the unstressed beats in comparison appear as "weak beats". In a measure in "common time" (containing four beats, each of which is represented by a crotchet or quarter note; this type of metrical organization is indicated by the "time signature" C or $\frac{4}{4}$), the first beat is considered the strongest one, the third is also considered as a "strong beat", but the second and fourth are considered "weak beats". The result is that the metrical subdivisions of the measure are rhythmically organized by a standard pattern of stresses, and that thereby the measure itself is perceived as standard pattern, as a metric-rhythmical unit.

But the metric-rhythmical organization of the measure is not limited to the measure itself. In practice it tends to impose itself on the melodic and harmonic movement, and then the measure assumes the function of a moving power which gives rise to the entire metric-rhythmical development in the whole melodic-harmonic complex of a piece of Western music.

Yet the single measure is too small a unit to embrace a full melody or melodic period (i.e. a larger, more or less self-contained part of the melody which can — changed or not changed — be repeated as a whole). Such a melody or melodic period generally extends over a group of measures which in this connection can be considered as "period of measures". Then we say that this or that melodic period includes this or that number of measures — a description which shows the total coalescence of melodic period and period of measures. From this point of view we understand terms like "period of four measures" (= Viertaktperiode) or "period of eight measures" (= achttaktige Periode). They always refer to the indissoluble unit of melodic period and period of measures, in other words : to the melodic line and its metric-rhythmical organization.

One of the most balanced periods of measure is the period of eight measures frequently used in the music of the Vienna Classics. Here it is not important

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how many time units or beats are included in the single measures, but it is essential that all measures contain an equal number of them. The melodic period which employs the period of eight measures represents a self-contained musical unit. Often it happens that a melody is developed on the basis of a small melodic figure or cell called "motif". A motif which extends over two measures can for example be repeated in the next two measures on another pitch level. In the following two measures it may be repeated again in a modified form on still another pitch-level. Another melodic figure which is not derived from the motif may conclude the melodic period in the last two measures. The full melodic period thus developed is suitable to be used as a theme of a larger piece, for example of a sonata movement. In this case the composer can elaborate upon the theme at particular places within the movement, i. e., he may divide or vary it for the purpose of a more extended melodic or polyphonic development. When afterwards the theme is repeated as a whole, it keeps practically the same metric-melodical shape as in the exposition, even if the accompanying harmonies are changed in many respects.

Such a stability of the metric-melodical theme will hardly be found in pieces of Indian music; it would indeed make a more extended musical elaboration impossible there, since Indian pieces have only a single melody without harmonic accompaniment. An analysis of the melodic formation in only a few pieces already shows that each melody consists of a number of small and sometimes very different melodic figures or groups of pitches. When the whole melodic period is repeated, the single melodic figures may easily appear in another metric or melodic shape. Real variations of the melody arise when single melodic figures or small groups of them are replaced by other ones. The choice of these interchangeable figures is not free, however; it depends upon the movement of the melody and the place in its compass. The melody, however, is based upon the Rāga in which the piece is performed.

Besides the variability and the interchangeability of the melodic figures a very important feature of the metrical organization of Indian pieces is that it corresponds to rules which are quite different from the metrical rules valid in European pieces. Not the measure, applied to the melody, is the means of metrical organization, but a period of beats which organizes the melodic flow more or less from the background. Metrical periods of this kind — of which in India quite a number is or was in vogue — are called Tālāvartra, i.e. Tālaāvarta or beat-period. The effect of such a Tāla period working 'from the background' is similar in some respect to the effect of a period of measures in European music. So when we in Europe sing a song or play a piece, we do generally not count, but we feel the measurement and follow sub-consciously. In

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Indian Tāla periods which are also felt by the musicians, some of the time units are marked. This is done in South Indian performances by the soloist or another musician who claps those time units on the thigh or in the hands. In Northern Indian performances one can see the Tāla by watching the left hand of the Tablā player.

The question is now how the Tāla period is constituted and what its effects are, specifically. I shall explain this by one example of South Indian and one of North Indian music.

The Tāla period which most frequently occurs in South Indian pieces such as Kṛtis, Varṇams etc. is called Ādi-tāla. It consists of three Aṅgas (i.e. limbs or parts), one Laghu and two Drutas. The Laghu contains four beats, and each of the two Drutas has two beats. By combining these Aṅgas we get a period of 4 + 2 + 2 beats. The first beat or time unit (Akṣara or Tālākṣara) in each of the Aṅgas is marked by clapping on the thigh or in the hands (Ghāta), all other time units are counted on the fingers or by waving with the hand (Visarjita). The result is that the first, the fifth, and the seventh beat within the Ādi-tāla period get a sound by clapping, but the other ones are silently counted. The time-interval between each of the — sounding or silent — beats, i.e. the time space covered by each of the time units, is always the same. The exact duration of this time space between the beats, i.e. the speed of succession of the beats, is established at the beginning of the rendering of each musical piece by the performing soloist.

The beats marked by clapping, however, only function as centres of gravity, like the first and the third beat in the European common time mentioned above, under certain conditions. First of all they show the sequence of the Tālāṅgas (= Tāla-aṅgas, here Laghu-Druta-Druta), and they serve in this way as bearings within the Tāla period. A still more important difference in comparison with the measure is the fact that the Tāla period is never applied to the melodic period for the purpose of metric-rhythmical organization. The Tāla period is used only as a frame or a standard in the sense that its length is taken as a scale of length for the melodic period. This can be observed clearly at the beginning of a metrically organized piece, as for example in Kṛti compositions. Here the length of the melodic period is measured from the first beat of the Tāla period onward, but this does not mean that a melodic period can only start on the first Tāla beat. It can also begin just before or after the first beat, and in this case its repetition starts at the same point in the next Tāla period. Consequently each repetition of the melodic periods is in reality as long as the other one — and as long as the Tāla period. Furthermore, since the melodic period can be shifted against the Tāla period,

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it is not necessary to bring a melodic stress on to the first Tāla beat. With respect to the structure of the period only one connection between melodic period and Tāla period remains : the length of the Tāla period is taken as the scale of length for the melodic period.

A second connection between the melody and the Tāla consists in that the smallest unit for the metric-rhythmical organization of the melody and of drumming is derived from the Tāla. According to the rules of musical theory, each of the Tālākṣaras (= beats or time units of the Tāla period) can be divided into 3, 4, 5, 7, or 9 pulses, which are called Akṣarakāla. The number of Akṣarakālas which is chosen for the subdivision of the Tālākṣaras must be accepted by the melody and the drum part. When for example a subdivision of each Tāla beat into four pulses has been chosen, and we equate each pulse with one (European) quaver, then the quaver must serve as the basic metrical unit in the melody and the drumming as well. No other subdivisions (as for example triplets instead of four quavers) should be introduced by the melody or the drum at the same time. Beyond these two connections — the equal length of Tāla period and melodic period as well as the identity of the smallest pulse in Tāla, melody and drumming — there is complete freedom to work out the metric-rhythmical organization of the melody and the drum part. According to the imagination of the composer or the performing musician both of them may go different ways, independent from each other and from the Tāla.

In North India Tritāla or Tīntāla is used almost as frequently as Ādi-tāla in South India. This Tāla period consists of four equal parts, each of them containing four time units or beats. Of the altogether 16 beats, the first one of the 1st, 2nd, and 4th part, i.e. the first, the fifth, and the thirteenth beat within the Tāla period are marked. All the others, among them the first beat of the third part, i.e. the ninth beat, are counted silently. But the Tablā player whose left hand always shows the Tāla seems to consider the 1st, the 2nd, and the 4th part totally sounding, but the 3rd a silent one : During the sounding parts his hand is arched, whereas it lies flat on the drum head during the silent part. Although the Tāla in Northern Indian music influences drum playing more strongly than in South Indian music, the melody is equally free in the North as in the South; the only factors which control it are the pulses derived from the Tāla as the basic metrical unit and the Tāla period as a scale of length.

In the course of each musical piece, the melody can outgrow the frame or standard given by the Tāla period at the beginning. Large melodic lines or arches embracing several Tāla periods may be developed here (as in the

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Caraṇa of a Kṛti, in the Erukkaṭa-svaras of a Varṇa, or in the Saṃcārī part of a Gata). This fact shows the full extent to which the Tāla functions as a regulator of the entire musical flow 'from the background'. Therefore, we cannot consider the Tāla as a metrical scheme which imposes its metric-rhythmical organization on the melody, and considering it as an impediment to the melodic flow would be even farther off the mark.

Besides the metrical organization and the structure of melodic periods, other characteristics of Indian music also cause difficulties for a listener who is accustomed to Western music only. Here we have to mention above all the very slight raising or flatting of single tones at particular places and the ornamentation of the melodies. When we look at the tonal systems which are in vogue today in Indian and in Western music, we would hardly believe that they give difficulties. The European system of major and minor scales can be compared with the South Indian Melakarta system and the North Indian Thāṭa system as far as the structure of the single scales is concerned : All the scales in each of the systems have a range of one octave, and the octave covers seven or — including the repetition of the key note — eight tones. Furthermore, if we summarize all the pitches used, we get the same chromatic scale containing 12 degrees in all three systems. But whereas the theoretical scales show many similarities, the use of the practical scales leads to far-reaching differences. In major and minor scales of European music, each of the seven tones can occasionally be raised or lowered half a tone without a change of the key. In the Melakarta and Thāṭa systems, however, the two tones sa and pa, i.e. c and g are unalterable, whereas the other five tones have two or three varieties. The tone Gāndhāra for example takes the varieties

Śuddha-gāndhāra, adequate to eses (= e bb) of European music
Sādhārana-gāndhāra, „ es (= e b) „
Antara-gāndhāra, „ e „

Most of the Rāga scales use only one of the tone-varieties, the remaining ones — particularly in South India — use another variety as well for one or at the most two scale degrees. The South Indian Bhairavī-rāga for example takes Catuḥśruti-dhaivata in Ārohaṇa (i.e. the tone ab in ascent), and Śuddha-dhaivata in Avarohaṇa (i.e. the tone ab in descent), while in the South Indian Kāpī-rāga besides Kaiśikī-niṣāda (b flat) the Kākalī-niṣāda (b natural), and besides Sādhārana-gāndhāra (eb) the Antara-gāndhāra (eh) is used. Two varieties of more than two tones are to be found only in some Northern Indian Rāgas; the scale of Pīlū-rāga includes even all the twelve chromatic steps. The essential difference in comparison with the European tonal scales consists in that the tone-varieties, once chosen, are unchangeable parts of the

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Rāga scale. Temporary use of other tone varieties or pitches would destroy the Rāga and is thus impossible.

The division of the octave into 22 Śrutis originated in an older time. The Śrutis are micro-tones, similar to quarter-tones in size. Originally they may possibly have been measured by the ear only. In music they have perhaps never been used as independent pitches, but the size of the intervals between the exact pitches of the scale degrees was described in terms of the number of Śrutis they contained. So the equivalent to the interval of a large whole tone (8 : 9) is 4 Śrutis, to a small whole tone (9 : 10) 3 Śrutis, to a half-tone 2 Śrutis. Based on this information, music theoreticians of our days have tried to calculate the exact size of the Śruti, and they found that we have to speak not only of one, but of three types of Śruti. Besides it is not yet decided whether these Śrutis have been used in musical practice at any time. These are open questions, but actually in some of the Rāgas — may be in a few cases according to the aesthetic taste of the musician — scale degrees are sometimes slightly raised or lowered. Moreover in ornaments particular pitches can frequently be heard which lie between fixed scale degrees. Both of them are often called Śrutis by the musicians.

When we speak about the ornaments of Indian melodies, we do not mean a possible supplement to an already composed melodic line, as in European music from the Barock up to the Romantic era. The point is that the ornament — called generally Gamaka in South India, Mīḍā in North India — is an integral part of Rāga melodies. Strictly speaking, the term Rāga describes an inner feeling of the musician which is projected outside, taking shape in music by the choice of particular melodic figures and their combination and elaboration into fully developed melodies. The most subtle figuration of the musical shape is realized by the ornament, and in that sense it can be said with reason that only the ornament brings to light all the characteristics or the complete individuality of a Rāga.

Yet this ornamentation only rarely uses small groups of tone consisting of short and clear pitches, as in trills and turns of Western music, but it prefers glides of different kinds. These glides mainly serve

(1) to play round a tone,
(2) to connect two or more tones with each other,
(3) to replace a fixed tone by a glide or a vibrato,
(4) to combine a group of fixed tones into one compact melodic figure.

This ornament is an integral part of the melody to such a degree that the scale belonging to a Rāga or derived from it cannot be rendered without the

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basic ornament of that Rāga. Position, kind, and extent of a Rāga's ornament is shown most clearly in Ālāpana, the non-rhythmical prelude to a metrically organized piece. In the Ālāpana, all or as many as possible melodic figures of a Rāga are introduced, and they are combined in such a way that each important scale degree, beginning with the lowest and ending with the highest, is used as a level for a larger melodic elaboration. Here in the pure melody, each melodic figure can be rendered or varied accordiug to its characteristics. Thus the entire Ālāpana is the comprehensive sound-picture of a Rāga as the improvising musician sees it.

To summarize we can list the differences in melodic formation between Western and Indian music as follows :

	Western music	*Indian music*
(1)	Melodies and polyphonic compositions are metrically organized by measures. Hereby the inner organization of the measure is applied to the melody or the polyphonic composition.	The metric-rhythmical arrangement in melody and drumming is independent of the Tāla, the period of time units or beats in the background. But the Akṣara-kālas (pulses) derived from the Tāla function as basic metrical units in melody and drumming.
(2)	One melodic period covers several measures. This group of measures can be called "period of measures". It is indissolubly connected with the melodic period.	At the beginning of a metrically organized piece, the melodic period has the duration of a Tāla period, but the formal — as well as the metric-rhythmical — organization of the melodic period is independent of the Tāla period.
(3)	The melodies are frequently developed on the basis of motifs. In this case the repetition of the melody at another tonal degree plays an important role. In some musical forms, a melodic period is used as a theme. In the course of the piece it can be divided or varied for the purpose of a more extended elaboration. But the theme	The melodies originate by combination of small, often very different melodic figures. In repetitions of the melody or the melodic period they can appear with slight variations. Variations of a melodic period mostly come in while one or more of the melodic figures are replaced by others. In larger elaborations of the melody, other

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itself has a fixed, i.e. unchangeable metric-melodical shape.

melodic figures of the same Rāga are taken and combined. There are no efforts to reach a metric-melodical stability as found in themes of Western music.

(4) Each of the seven tones within the diatonic scale can be raised or lowered half a tone without making the key indiscernible. According to our musical sensibility, this chromatic alteration leads only to 'pure' chromatic steps, never to pitches between them.

Each Rāga has a fixed stock of scale degrees. Temporary raising or lowering of tones is impossible. Depending on the Rāga and on the attitude of the performing musician, single degrees are sometimes minimally raised or lowered.

(5) Small groups of 'pure' tones serve as graces or ornamentations. They are frequently added to already composed melodies, but they could also be left out.

In most cases, the ornamentation consists of glides. Ornamentation is always an integral part of the melody. It lends flexibility to the melody, and it is indispensable as one of the elements which establish the individuality of the Rāga.

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FOUR SHORT HINDĪ POEMS[1]

BY

LOTHAR LUTZE (Heidelberg)

The one thing the four poems we have selected for our analysis have certainly in common is their shortness. In Western literary criticism the view seems to prevail that it is much more difficult to write a good long poem than it is to write a good short one. Moreover, a poem should not only be good but perfect in itself, with not a syllable dispensable and out of tune — and how long could anybody retain that perfection? Length seems to breed lengthiness, talkativeness, tedious repetitions artistically not justified, an indulgence in mere sound with little meaning. Poetic language, however, is both sound and meaning, and the neglect of either one of the two is bound to result in impoverishment of some kind or other. Very broadly speaking, one might state that, for a number of reasons and to a varying degree, present-day Western poets would rather tend to disregard sound, while, at least before the Naī kavitā school found wider recognition, some of their Indian counterparts, also for a number of reasons, would still be more likely to lose sight of meaning and to get intoxicated with the mere sound of their creations.

This may, to a certain extent at least, explain the apparently arbitrary choice of four poems from out of a large number of modern Hindi poems of at least equal merit in the eyes of Indian critics.

1

Sumitarānandan Pant, as everybody knows, likes to write long poems. It is doubtful whether he would agree with Gottfried Benn, the poet who, before his death in 1956, was one of the chief architects of modern German poetry and claimed that if only four or five stanzas of his ultimately survived, his lifetime would not have been wasted. If we approached Pant's work with the same modesty, one of the four or five 'lasting' pieces would certainly be

1. Hindi versions of parts of this article have been published in : Mādhyam 30 (1966), pp. 32–36 (Tīn choṭī hindī kavitāẽ) ; Sāhitya : vividh sandarbha, sāhityik nibandha. Dillī : Akṣar Prakāśan, 1968, pp. 38–44 (Tīn choṭī hindi kavitāẽ), pp. 45–47 (Mācve kī kavitā 'pāltū').

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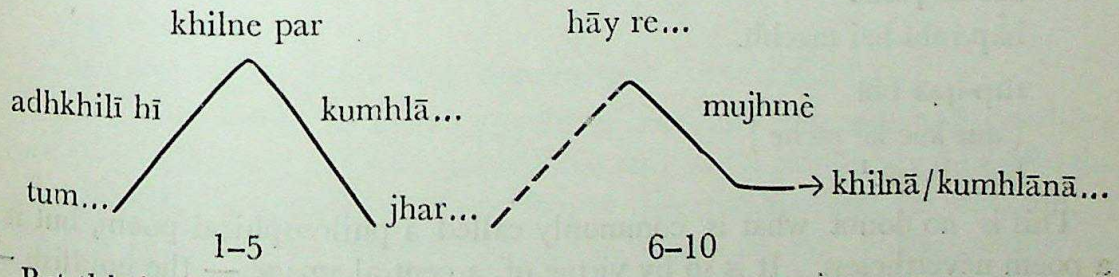
bāhya bodh
tum cāhte ho
maĩ adhkhilī hī rahũ̃ !
khilne par
kumhlā na jāũ̃,
jhar na jāũ̃ !
— hāy re durāśā !
mujhmẽ̃
khilnā
kumhlānā hī
dekh pāe ![1]

At first sight, this is just another lover's complaint, or rather, complaint and counter-complaint. He does not like the idea of her growing old and would prefer to arrest this growth, if not in the stage of virgin beauty (adkhilī hī), then, at the latest, with her womanhood fully blown (khilne par). She, in her turn, complains of his short-sightedness and superficiality (bāhya bodh). The poem is sharply divided into two equal portions of five lines each. There is a burst of female impatience in the sixth line (— hāy re durāśā !), which provides a kind of dramatic climax but is immediately caught in a rather disciplined statement covering the last four lines of the poem :

mujhmẽ̃
khilnā
kumhlānā hī
dekh pāe !

From one point of view, the poem is a perfect little piece of music. Its ascending and descending lines could be visualized like this :



But this is not all. The first five lines are a complete description, in poetic shorthand, of human life, with its stages of blossoming and decay : adhkhilī (rahnā) — khilnā — kumhlānā — jharnā. And what follows the exclamation (hāy re...), although at first sight it seems but a variation of what was said

1. Kalā aur būṛhā cãd, p. 178.

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in lines 1-5 (and a good deal, if not most, of Indian poetry as well as music and art is based on variation), is in reality — the hī ('only') proves it — an oblique, an indirect way of saying : 'You fail to see what is immortal in me.' But the moment this blunt statement has been made, we realize that the very essence of the poem's beauty has been destroyed. The girl-speaker — and the poet himself, for that matter — has deliberately avoided the 'big' word ('immortal–ity'), in order to keep the poem undefiled, to preserve its integrity and immaculate beauty. With this 'indirect' approach, this avoidance of the 'big' word by saying things in the negative or leaving them altogether unsaid and rather putting the reader's faculty of association to work, Pant is on common ground with a German colleague of his, Bertolt Brecht. Take, e.g., one of the "Buckower Elegien" :

Der Rauch

Das kleine Haus unter Bäumen am See
Vom Dach steigt Rauch
Fehlte er
Wie trostlos dann wären
Haus, Bäume und See.

Apparently, Brecht just enumerates a number of commonplace things : house, trees, lake, roof, smoke. The list is repeated, but this time without the smoke rising from the roof : and its absence makes all the difference. 'Smoke', of course, is a cipher, a poetie abbreviatīon for : warmth, shelter, life continuing, companionship, the presence of man.

2

Our next choice is Ajñeya's "son machlī".

ham nihārte rūp,
kā̃c ke pīche
hā̃p rahī hai machlī.

rūp-tṛṣā bhī
(aur kā̃c ke pīche)
hai jijīviṣā.[1]

This is no doubt what is commonly called a philosophical poem, but it is a poem nevertheless. It is so by virtue of a central image — the goldfish —, which allows the poet to say in six short lines what might otherwise take an hour's lecturing.

1. Sa. Hī. Vātsyāyan 'Ajñeya' (Āj ke lokpriya hindī kavi), p. 107. German translation cf. Als wär die Freiheit wie ein Stein gefallen, Hindilyrik der Gegenwart. Tübingen/Basel : Horst Erdmann Verlag. 1968, p. 13.

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For here is, in a way, a complete philosophy of art. Again, there is a sharp division into two halves, this time of three lines each. The first half contains in itself a contrast seemingly irreconcilable : that between the artist-onlooker in contemplation of the beautiful (ham nihārte rūp) and the imprisoned creature seeking bare survival (hā̃p rahī hai machlī). Their separation is perfectly rendered into the image of the well of glass (kā̃c) : cold, inflexible, penetrable only to the eye.

But the second half brings a kind of reconciliation. By boldly lifting the imagery onto a higher plane (*aur* kā̃c ke pīche), the poet-artist finds himself in just the same position as the fish : greedily seeking a life from which he is separated by some 'other kind of glass'. To him, far from the worn-out 'l' art pour l' art', art, with its thirst for the beautiful, is the will to exist, and therefore existence itself.

3

Compared to the other three poets, Viśvanāth Tripāṭhī is a young man. Consequently, in his poem "parivār", he does not deal with Man's Immortality, or Man the Artist; his theme is Man's Frustration.

merā bāp —
vijit evreṣṭ
merī mā —
abhāv śeṣnāg se viṣ tapta kṣīrsāgar
merā bhāī —
laddū ghoṛe-sā bojhā ḍhotā siṃhā-śāvak
merī bahan —
maile cithṛõ se banī huī ek guṛiyā
aur maĩ —
ubaltā huā,
ketlī kā pānī
jise ban-ban kar bhāp-bhāp khatam hone rahnā hai.[1]

This is no longer an 'indirect' approach, nor does the poet approach his theme philosophically. The effect of force and inescapability is primarily the result of structural repetition. Each line, or line-combination, is devoted to one of the five members of the family and is characterized by the contrast between the simple 'merā bāp' (not : 'mere pitā'), 'merī mā̃' (not : 'merī mātā'), etc., and a powerful telescoped image containing in itself another contrast — that between what is and what might have been, between environmental defeat and innate possibilities :

1. Kavi sammelan, Maks Myular Bhavan, 11 disambar 1963, p. 10.
German translation cf. Als wār die Freiheit wie ein Stein gefallen, p. 56.

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vijit	— evreṣṭ
abhāv šeṣnāg se viṣ tapta	— kṣīrsāgar
laddū ghoṛe-sā bojhā ḍhotā	— siṉha-šāvak
maile cithṛõ se banī huī	— guṛiyā
bhāp	— pānī

As the poem progresses, the images become less and less powerful, the contrasts less and less marked. The language goes along ; the majestic ring of the first three lines (the second being perhaps the most remarkable line of the poem : abhāv šeṣnāg se viṣ tapta kṣīrsāgar) — this almost mythical grandeur gradually fades into ordinary everyday speech : ubaltā huā, / ketlī kā pānī, etc. In this way, the feeling of exhaustion, summarized in the pānī-bhāp image, finds expression in the total structure of the poem, which, in a kind of spiral movement, its circumference narrowing with each new turn, descends on the author's 'aur maĩ', outcry of a creature mortally wounded, and finally succumbs to the crawling monotony of the 'ban-ban kar bhāp-bhāp' in the last line.

Prabhākar Mācve's "pāltu" is a light piece of poetry, playful, in spite of the seriousness of its theme : totalitarianism, its futility. The poet is fond of word-play, lets himself sometimes be carried away by his predilection, at the risk of not being taken 'seriously' by his reader (the risk of all formalism). Let us try and trace the marking of this poem, remembering, as we did before, that what follows is the post-creative rationalization of a poetic process and therefore necessarily a simplification (the simplification of all criticism).

pahle usne pāle kuch pille
baṛe hue, bhāg gaye;
pālĩ kuch billiyã, ve
dostõ ko de dĩ.
phir pālĩ kuch lāl machliyã,
ve mar gayĩ ;
pālā ek totā, jo uṛ gayā.
joṛe kā ek bacā
uṭhā gayī mitra kī biḍālī use.
pālne kī yah ādat
kam na huī.
sunā hai ki ājkal, rakhe haĩ kuch ādmī
pāltū :
fāltū !
hogā kyā unkā ?

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(mār dẽge paṛosī ke baṛe bam ?
phir bhī nahī̃ hõge kam).[1]

Obviously, the creative nucleus of the poem is 'pāl–', base of the verb 'pālnā' ('bring up', 'domesticate'). The author employs it as a sound-motif

/ p / + vowel element + / l /

which is firmly established in the first line (pahle – pāle – pille) and then alternates with a number of modifications (pālī̃ – billiyā̃, pālī̃ – lāl machliyā̃, pālā – biḍālī, pālne – ājkal, pāltū – fāltū). The frequent occurrence of this motif, reinforced by the purposefully indifferent use of 'kuch', reflects the monotony, the routine ('ādat') of the business of domestication.

The climax of the poem

pāltū :
fāltū !

is a rare piece of poetic buffoonery[2] and, with the replacement of the stop /p/ by the fricative /f/, the perfect formal correspondence to 'loss of control' : the theme of the poem.

The coda (in parentheses) is marked by the onomatopoeic rendering of the two 'explosions' (atomic and population) in the rhyme-words 'bam' and 'kam'.

The result is a poetic structure of extreme closeness, achieved by an artistry which narrowly escapes the danger of drawing too much if not all of the reader's attention on itself.

A light piece of poetry, no doubt; but is not any successful translation of reality into art — lightness ? Brecht has a few things to say about this,[3] and neither his political commitment nor his preoccupation with problems of artistic form could be seriously questioned.

Formalism has often been accused of being non-committal, extraliterary commitment of invariably ending up in bad writing; neither need be true. "pāltū" may serve as a wayside example of an ironic combination of the two extremes, with its risks and possibilities.

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1. Tār saptak, ²1966, p. 221. German translation cf. Als wār die Freiheit wie ein Stein gefallen, p. 22.

2. and of 'coupling'. Cf. LEVIN, Samuel R., Linguistic Structures in Poetry. The Hague : Mouton, ²1964.

3. E.g., in A Short Organum for the Theatre, 77; or in Masterful Treatment of a Model, 1.

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THE DESERT OF THAR — EXAMPLE OF A MAN-MADE DESERT*

BY

CARL RATHJENS (Saarbrücken)

An arid zone which extends from Punjab in the north-west to the peninsula of Saurashtra in the south and from the foot of the Aravalli Hills in the east beyond the Pakistan border in the west, is known as the great Indian Desert or the Desert of Thar. The eastern part situated in the territory of the Indian Union (Bharat) is called the Desert of Rajasthan or Marusthali (Land of the Dead). This desert can be treated as a prolongation of the great arid belt of the old world. This belt is, however, characterised by so many divergences in climatic conditions, vegetation cover and geomorphological forms and processes that scientific research already quite early started to ascribe the influences determining the landscape formations of this desert to human intervention, particularly to landuse, i.e. research started to speak of a man-made desert. Consequently the Thar has become an important object of research in questions of anthropogenic geomorphology, landuse at the frontier of aridity and the possibilities to maintain and improve the economy and the living conditions for human beings in a desert land. Geography can render a contribution of high social relevance here, thanks to its complex method of investigation which should experience a disastrous encumbrance in case of a sharp division into a physical and a social sphere.

I had an opportunity to travel through the greater part of the Thar in the winter and the spring of 1956 with the assistance given to me by the German Research Association. Reports of the observations during this visit were published at different places (Rathjens 1957, 1959, 1961, 1966). Following the International Geographical Congress held in New Delhi in 1968 where I could refer to my earlier investigations in the Thar in my paper delivered to the Congress, I once again saw some border areas of the desert and was able to compare the conditions with those in 1956, particularly of the Jaipur and Jodhpur areas. This second visit to the Thar with its possibilites of comparisons between conditions in 1956 and 1968 inspired the following observations. For this visit also I have to thank the German Research Association.

The Indian Central Arid Zone Research Institute (CAZRI) which looked after me during my stay in Jodhpur deserves special thanks as well. In 1956

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there was only a Desert Afforestation Research Station in Jodhpur. It had been in existence for a few years and in 1956 had its first fields of afforestation experiments ready. In 1957 the task of soil conservation i.e. enquiry into soil destruction and possible counter measures to prevent such destruction, was affiliated to this station. In 1959 with the help of Unesco and Australia and under the guidance of some Israeli scientists, the Institute was expanded into an important centre for general and applied desert research. Today the Institute enjoys an international reputation (see here also the activity report of the Institute of 1964).

The members of the Institute, since its establishment, have done valuable research work and contributed to many scientific publications in India and foreign countries. For this reason far more information is available on the Thar today than 10 years ago. The Annals of Arid Zone published in Jodhpur, the scientific publications of the symposiums which were held on Rajasthan or the Thar at the very beginning of the modern development of Indian research in New Delhi (1952), the relevant reports of the International Geography Seminar held at Aligarh in 1956 and at Jodhpur in 1964 and 1968 are specially productive and important sources of information. The symposium at Jodhpur in 1968 followed the XXI International Geographical Congress held in New Delhi. These events also drew a great number of foreign scientists to the Thar and inspired them to take up research. Dresch (1965) and Verstappen (1968 a & b, 1969) with their geomorphological work and Nitz (1966, 1968 a & b) with his observations and investigations in agricultural geography should be especially mentioned as essential for our enquiry. The latest synopsis was made by Mishra (1968) from the Indian point of view.

Climatically, only the Indus-basin situated in West Pakistan and small parts of the Western Thar near the Pakistan border with an annual rainfall of 150 mm or less falling mostly during the summer monsoon, can be called fully arid or a real desert. The rainfall increases rapidly in the Eastern regions and reaches a quantum of 500 mm or more at the foot of the East Rajasthan hill country and at the border of the Gangetic plain. The larger part of the Indian Thar can hence only theoretically be defined as semi-arid. The summer monsoon rains fall in the form of thunder showers and severe downpours which possess a strong erosive effect but, on account of a high discharge quota, fill innumerable tanks (for irrigation and for drinking water for cattle) and bunds (depressions dammed up for cultivation) with water. These have made the existence of human life possible upto the far West. In 1968 in Jaipur the total monsoon rainfall came down on one single day

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and caused great floods. Extreme variation in the annual rainfall is also an important factor. Generally in each decade there are two to three drought years. Nitz could observe the effects of a drought year in 1963/64. 1968 was again such a drought year which presumably caused the death by thirst of 7,000,00 heads of cattle and led to a large emigration from Western Rajasthan. The summer crop (kharif) depends on rain. In good years, it brings a meagre harvest upto the Jaisalmer region (medium rainfall of 164 mm) while in drought years it is completely absent in all the concerned areas to the West of the Aravallis. The winter crop (rabi) has to get additional irrigation without exception as the winter rains arising out of western depressions are not sufficient. The winter crop occupies only a small percentage of the land on the foot of the Aravallis where irrigation by wells is more common and where there are a few small dams. However, a winter crop is completely absent in the larger part of the Thar. Once the Rajasthan canal, on which people are working hard, takes the Sutlej water through the western desert area to the region north of Jaisalmer, the agriculture in certain parts of the Thar would become climatically independent. Even if unlimited water was made available through the canal, because of topographical features of terrain, it would still not be able to reach the dune fields and the rocky plains occupying a broad strip from Bikaner to the Rann of Kutch.

The desert character of the Thar is determined more by geological underground and the geomorphological formations than by the water shortage due to climate. A considerable part of the Thar consists of dune-fields and sandy accumulations. They reach to some extent into the Aravalli mountains and turn into loess-like sediments at the eastern border of the Thar. Quartzite, rhyolithe and granite of the old base form inselbergs and a lot of mountainous areas surrounded by extensive pediments. Cuestas are developed in the sandstones and limestones of the transgressions of the Indus-basin. The dunes are generally orientated from the south-west to the north-east corresponding to the prevailing wind-direction of the dry seasons. Sand transportation too takes place in the same direction. According to Verstappen longitudinal dunes must be derived from parabolic dunes, and this suits better to the probable natural vegetation and its development in the quaternary than if one imagined a desert basin, poor in vegetation and full of Barkhans. The dunes of the Indian part of the Thar seem to be everywhere arrested and controlled by vegetation under accepted natural conditions. Apparently the formation of parabolic dunes does not require a more humid climate than it is prevalent today. On the other hand it is certain that the larger parts of the eastern and southern dune fields of the Thar had a drier climate in the

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past. Only when human landuse destroys the vegetation, the dune sand is again put in motion. The Barkhans thereby arising are often small in form as compared to the large old dune walls which could reach a height of a hundred metres or more. Besides the dunes, the surface of the crystalline rocks also produces materials which are carried by the often occuring sand- and dust-storms into the Upper Gangetic plain and thus help to create the impression that the desert is progressing in a north-eastern direction.

The thorny savannah which is the natural vegetation of the Thar becomes a dry deciduous forest in the Eastern more rainy parts and is thinly populated with Prosopis and different types of acacia. Deciduous dry forests of the monsoon forest type appear on the Aravalli slopes. These were the famous tiger-hunt preserves of the Maharajas. Previously there must have been extended gallery forests all along the bigger water courses and even along the non perennial ones. They sheltered a world of big animals as has been proved throughout North-Western India by historical and archaeological evidences. However, the animals are missing there now. Today it is very difficult to get a correct picture of the natural vegetation formations of the Thar as there is hardly any area which has not experienced a conclusive change of its composition due to overgrazing, farming on rainfall, different methods of getting fodder, construction wood and fuel. Only stunted and patchy vegetation in form of thorny bushes is found on wide stretches and is thickened with a growth of quickly sprouting grass in the monsoon season. The vegetation is often destroyed completely in the areas of sandy accumulations thus leading to new dune formations and a wide-spread blowing away of sand.

The protected areas developed by CAZRI have, therefore, gained a special importance for judging the vegetation formations, particularly so, if one had the opportunity to observe the development of the vegetation in some protected areas near Jodhpur with a time interval of about 12 years. The forest in many fenced and observed areas near Jodhpur has since then regenerated with a thick undergrowth vegetation in an astonishing quickness.

The measures taken by the Institute, correctly defined as afforestation, make use of not only the indigenous species, different types of Acacia, Prosopis, spicigera, Albizzia, Azadirachta, Dalbergia, tamarisks etc. The choice of the types of trees is made according to their resistance to dryness and their capacity to maintain themselves on wind-moved dune sand or on naked rock and also, peculiarly, according to their fodder value for the grazing cattle. In many parts of Rajasthan, it is common to cut the leaves of the forest trees, particularly of prosopis, for additional fodder for camels, sheep and goats.

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In afforestation experiments are also made with other exotic varieties, particularly with African and Near Eastern acacia and Australian eucalyptus. Out of 146 varieties of eucalyptus which have been planted in the experimental fields near Jodhpur, five have proved particularly successful. Among many acacia Acacia tortilis of the Israeli Negev Desert was found to be specially resistent to dryness and capable of surviving in adverse circumstances and is quickly growing. It has been given preference in cultivation for the last few years. CAZRI produces now about 300,000 young saplings and distributes them for purposes of consolidation of dunes, plantation of trees along the streets, arrangements for protection against wind for which a centre was built with Soviet Aid in Suratgarh, and to individual Community Development Projects. On the whole today one has a far better idea of the soil, climate and vegetation conditions of the Thar than a few years ago due to a number of mappings in which complete teams of scientists are engaged. They work in much smaller and limited areas than it was possible or considered useful in earlier days. There is no talk anymore of such magnificent projects as the construction of a continuous forest belt from the Punjab to the Rann of Kutch along the Pakistan border.

Besides afforestation widespread efforts continue to preserve and to improve the pastures of the Thar by sowing new types of grass, experimenting with new manures and controlling the cattle stock. Thus for the Jodhpur area, a maximum stock of 2 sheep per hectare or 1 cattle per 5 hectares of pastureland has been recommended. The actual cattle stock of larger areas is considerably higher eventhough it varies in different seasons. According to the statistics, economically productive pastures comprise only 2% of the total surface in the Northern and the Western Thar. This percentage rises to 10% in the South. The pastures are utilised by the cattle-breeding population, a certain portion of which has a nomadic way of life. These low figures are not so much due to climate and vegetation but to extensive vegetation destruction and the absence of sufficient watering places.

CAZRI efforts also aim at achieving better results in the field of agriculture. A short time before the outbreak of the monsoon, large areas of the Thar are ploughed and prepared for sowing. These areas which after the harvest lie fallow during the dry winter season, are particularly exposed to the dangers of soil destruction. However, efforts are made to increase production and at the same time keep the soil destruction in check by choosing the suitable crop, mostly millet, legumes and rape seeds and through good manures and better methods of cultivation.

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When travelling in Rajasthan or flying over the country, one does not get the impression that the measures sketched so far for protecting the soil and vegetation and for improving the economy have brought any large scale relief. Actually the beginnings for melioration of the fields and pastures, for the consolidation of the dune sands and other types of soil conservation are spread over the country spotwise and are limited to a few experimental stations of the CAZRI and a number of state-aided Community Development Projects. Obviously, they still have no effect on the total economy of the land in Western Rajasthan. A definite reduction in the pasture cattle, as it is discussed today for the whole of India, can only be traced back to the last drought period and not to the guided intervention by Governmental authorities. So far there seems to be no indication that the loss of extensively cultivated land which some years ago worked out to be 50 sq. miles per year and the frequency of dust storms which are felt far into the irrigated land of the Gangetic plain, has been noticeably reduced. On the whole the situation seems to have remained the same in the last decade. It has even become worse in certain parts of the Thar.

These conditions make clear the close connection existing at the arid frontier between the human landuse, the vegetation cover and the exogenic geomorphological processes. Though the climatic conditions of the country are a deciding factor, differences in the state of its various landscapes cannot always be explained through climatic changes only, as has been the practice so far. These variations are more closely associated with the historical, social and technological stages of development of the working man and consequently of the geographical landscape. As compared to other dry areas of the earth, the Thar is thickly populated and even now more than 80% of the population live on agriculture. The lowest density figures lie somewhere near 2 – 3 persons per sq. kilometer in the Jaisalmer area. These figures increase rapidly to the East and come to an average of about 25 persons per sq. kilometer of the Thar. They naturally take into account the big cities on the Eastern border. The growth of population here, as in the whole of India, is enormous and does not apply to the cities only. Agriculture is mostly practised in the same traditional ways as have been described so often. The cattle- or the goat-stocks of a population which is even today nomadic or semi-nomadic, are still far too high and destroy the existing pasture lands to a large extent.

After my journey of 1956, I pointed out that there is a direct relation between the density of the cattle stock and the degree of vegetation destruction which brings out an apparent contrast between the quantity of rainfall and

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the frequency of recent desert formations. It is, therefore, in the Western Thar, where the rare and deep wells allow only a low density of cattle and where due to shortage of sufficient monsoon rain agriculture on rainfall is completely missing, that large patches of thorny bushes and high grass are still to be found. Contrarily in the East, with a higher rainfall, sufficient possibilities of watering and greater density of settlements, the cattle stock and the degree of vegetation destruction is increasing. The result is a far more distinct desert-like character of the country.

Agriculture on rainfall is carried out even in areas where the yield is low and drought risks are high. It should be considerably reduced as capital necessary for putting manure in the fields or for constructing a modern system of irrigation is lacking. It has further to be taken into consideration that Rajasthan, besides Kashmir, possesses the highest percentage of illiterates (over 85%) and therefore many good advices do not reach the simple farmers. As the agriculture on rainfall in the unmanured outer fields requires many, in extreme cases up to 7 fallow years, very large areas are either without vegetation or insufficiently protected with stubbles and exposed to wind-erosion and erosive effects of the heavy monsoon rains. The cattle dung is used as fuel and in the best cases is sufficient for manuring a few smaller fields near the village.

Moreover the need for wood and wood-producing trees for cooking and heating purposes is excessive and is still growing with the increasing population. Other sources of energy are available to only a small wealthy upper class in the towns. The understanding of the need for re-afforestation and private initiative in this field is so far absent as revealed by general inquiries. The fact that a number of Maharajas and Nawabs of Rajasthan have lost their wealth and rights which they earlier used for the maintenance of larger forest areas as hunting resorts, has had some negative effects too. Specially in the surroundings of larger cities where the need for wood is excessive and the fuel trade prosperous, vegetation destruction and its corresponding geomorphological consequences are particularly noticeable. Here it often happens that the traffic is obstructed by sand-drifts or gully erosion or that strong sedimentation of reservoirs threatens the water supply to the fields, cattle and human settlements. Many naked and wind-moved dunes with Barkhans are found just in the vicinity of big cities.

There are a number of factors from the spheres of physical, economic and social geography which combine together to produce the desert-like character of the country in North West India. Apparently in the Thar, many circumstances combine in particularly an effective manner to produce a desert which

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owes its existence only indirectly to the climate but much more to a number of direct and indirect interventions by man and his economy. The work of CAZRI in Jodhpur which today extends from geomorphology and vegetation geography to socio-ethnology and agricultural technique and which was quoted here to outline the problems of the Thar, shows clearly that these interconnections are recognised in India too. It also makes clear that all relief-measures applied against the progressing desert which do not want to treat the symptoms only will have to be of a very complex nature taking into account the social and economic sphere as well. The general condition of the village population in Rajasthan indicates that in the next few years there will be a further growth of the Thar. From 1980 onwards only, the irrigation system of the Rajasthan canal can bring about a certain relief. Some people in India are sceptic about the utility of this canal on account of the expected evaporation deficit and the danger of soil salination spread over large areas. In any case more lasting and intensive efforts are needed before one can succeed in better adjusting the land-use in the Thar and its basic social structure to the natural condition of the land and in putting an end to the progressing devastation of the country. The role which geography can play as an adviser in such a complex problem should not be underestimated.

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THE PORTRAIT SCULPTURE OF KANIṢKA

BY

HEIMO RAU (Heidelberg)

§ 1. Exhibit No. 213 in the Curzon Museum of Archaeology in Mathurā is the torso of a standing statue in red sandstone with head and arms broken off. In its present state it is 1.63 metres high. It has a tunic which reaches down to the knees and is held by a belt around the hips; above this a topcoat which is open at the front and turned back on the sides. The legs, between which the stone has not been removed by the sculptor, are tucked into heavy boots which seem to be made of felt rather than leather and have spur straps. The right hand grips the hilt of a sword, the scabbard of which is wrapped in bands. A legible and neatly incised Brāhmī inscription runs across the lower part of the lower and upper garments, disregarding the folds. It reads : mahārājā rājātirājā devaputra Kāniṣko : the Great King, the King of Kings, the Son of God, Kāniṣka. The figure portrayed not only bears the Indian title of Mahārājā but also calls himself the King of Kings like the rulers of Iran. He is raised to the divine or at least the semi-divine sphere through the Sanskrit title "devaputra — Son of God" which appears here for the first time and which in the contemporary Suvarṇaprabhāsa Sūtra is sanctioned by the words of Brahma himself as title befitting the rulers because of their divine descent and unfailing divine support.

§ 2. Kaniṣka was the successor of Vima Kadphises and the latter's predecessor Kujula Kadphises, and he was the most prominent representative of the Kuṣāna dynasty which began with the two above-mentioned kings. Kuṣāna was originally the name of a clan or tribe. Kujula Kadphises made it the name of a whole people in the last third of the first century B.C., when he seized the reins of power over the entire state of an originally nomadic people who had become sedentary for a century in Bactria. Prior to that he was one of the five princes who shared the domination of the people, as we are told by the Chinese annals, known as the Yueh-chih.

These nomads on the southwest border of the Gobi are mentioned for the first time early in the second century B.C. Driven out of their pastoral lands by the Hsiung-nu in the middle of the second century B.C. they moved towards the southwest. They settled in the highly developed upper Oxus region where they doubtlessly adopted the urban civilisation of the Hellenic Bactrian kingdoms. They established their kingdom in an area in which the influence of three cultures overlapped, that of the Indian subcontinent, that of Iran

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1. Kaniṣka Statue, Stone, H. 163 cm, courtesy Museum Mathura

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influenced by Hellenistic culture and that of the steppes of Central Asia. It was a junction of world trade connecting China with India and both with West Asia, the Mediterranean and Rome. From there Kujula Kadphises and his successors conquered a territory which covers present-day Afghanistan, West-Pakistan and North-India and established a great power of the first order, which is called Kuṣānṣahr in the Shāpūr I inscription of about 260 A.D. in Naqsh-i-Rustam. Other border regions such as Khwārezm and the Tarim basin were more or less in a state of temporary vassalage.

The Kuṣānas were not Mongols, they were Caucasians with narrow heads, prominent noses and abundant hair and beard growth. The Chinese even discovered people with red hair and blue eyes among them. The details of their history are still obscure and although we possess more than a hundred dated inscriptions and many thousands of coins issued by their rulers, the dates submitted by leading archaeologists vary by sixty-eight years, as they have not yet succeeded in determining accurately the era covered by the Kuṣānas. None of the four proposals, which suggest that Kaniṣka's rule started in 78 A.D., 110–115 A.D., 128 A.D., or 144 A.D. was able to gain conviction despite a conference held specifically for this purpose in London in 1960. Without going into the pros and cons we may safely say that our study is placed in the first half of the second century A.D. On the basis of the dated inscriptions and the coins the following periods of government may be laid down for Kaniṣka and his immediate successors, although we should not fail to point out that there were possibly three rulers with the name of Kaniṣka and two with that of Huviṣka :

Kaniṣka I reigned from 1 to 23
Vāsiṣka reigned from 24 to 28
Huviṣka reigned from 28 to 60
(one or both)
Kaniṣka II appears
on the Ārā-Inscription 41
Vāsudeva I reigned from 64/67 to 98

§ 3. The standing statue of Kaniṣka was found near the village of Māṭ, about 14.5 km north of the city of Mathurā on the left bank of the river Yamunā in the Tokri Tila mound about 1200 metres northeast of the village where Pandit Radha Krishna excavated a temple site in the spring of 1912. The Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India from 1911/1912 contain a brief report by John Marshall and a more detailed one by J. Ph. Vogel on these excavations. Literature on this subject has in the meanwhile increased

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considerably during the last fifty years. Only the most recent publications will be mentioned here : Mathurā Inscriptions by Heinrich Lüders and Klaus L. Janert, Göttingen 1961, and John M. Rosenfield, The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans, Berkley and Los Angeles 1967.

§ 4. Two inscriptions (Lüders 80d and 80c) enlighten us on the purpose of this poorly preserved and incompetently excavated site. These inscriptions reveal that this was not so much a temple for the gods as a dynastic shrine, centred around the grandfather of Huviṣka. This description of the purpose is supported by the discovery of the statues on the site of this temple.

In the centre of the site the lower half of a colossal seated portrait, 208 centimetres high, of a ruler on the Lion Throne was found. He is seated in the "European pose" and has the same gigantic boots as Kaniṣka. The right hand holds a sword of which only the hilt is still partly preserved. The left hand is broken off. Perhaps it rested on the scabbard laid over the knees. The costume consisting of a tunic and topcoat resembles that of Kaniṣka. The head and the upper part of the throne are missing and the knees are heavily damaged. Although the name of the figure portayed cannot clearly be read as Vema on the abovementioned inscription, there is a concensus of opinion that the throning ruler is a portrait statue of Vima Kadphises, the grandfather of Huviṣka mentioned in another inscription, to whom the temple was dedicated. There is no need to go into further detail on the fragments of statues and deities. We shall now proceed to a more thorough study of the statue of Kaniṣka.

§ 5. Like all the statuary of Mathurā it is made of red Sikrī sandstone. This stone is irregular in structure and is covered with light spots which impair the plastic effect, as they destroy the unity of the surface. There is hardly any doubt that these statues were coloured as has been proved for the contemporary Gandhāra school in the Kuṣāna kingdom. It is also conceivable that the large flat surface areas of the coat and tunic were decorated with ornamental cloth patterns.

§ 6. The garments, the tunic and topcoat, are made of heavy materials, the topcoat appears to be even heavier than the lower garment which has light folds reproduced schematically. Extremely un-Indian is the fact that the garments are cut and stitched. The shalwar worn under the tunic and tucked into the boots is also alien to India. Indians wear unstitched clothes which they wrap around their bodies, and they go barefoot or in sandals. A mention must also be made of the belt consisting of square ornamented metal plaques, which recur as mountings on the scabbard of the sword. This costume came

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originally from Central Asia, and remained unchanged in its basic elements through the centuries. The equestrian tribes of Central Asia introduced it to the Middle East and we may follow its traces from the Achaemenidian images up to the present day. It is timeless because it corresponds directly to the needs of a nomadic equestrian people and is also suited to the extreme differences in temperature occuring in a steppe climate.

§ 7. Kaniṣka's sword is about one metre long. Its pommel is shaped like a bird's neck and a bird's head. The hand covers and hides the grip of the hilt. A band is wrapped around the scabbard. It is not quite clear how it is knotted at the back and whether it is fastened to the topcoat. One open band end bears a head which is decorated with a multi-petalled lotus flower — without doubt an Indian motif, one of the few we find on this statue. The longish plate which is set into the scabbard and under which the fastening straps are threaded is conspicuous. Maenchen-Helfen has shown (Central Asiatic Journal III, 85–138) that this type of scabbard slide is to be found in the Sarmatian graves in the Volga region, on Sasanian silver salvers and finally also during the Chou and Han periods in China. He believes that this peculiarity of the weapon was prevalent among the nomads of Central Asia and was carried to the three directions by such nations as the Yueh-chih. In any case for the Kuṣānas it was as much a part of their nomadic heritage as the whole costume so strange and impractical for India.

§ 8. On the other hand the giant club or mace 104 centimetres long, which Kaniṣka holds in front of him upright with his right hand, looks completely Indian. It looks as if it has been carved out of wood and then held together with metal bands. It broadens from the top to the bottom. Between the first two bands it is round, between the second and the third and the third and the fourth it is sixteen-sided, between the fourth and the fifth it is finally eight-sided. This design recalls the way in which the pillars of Indian temples are often composed. The bottom of the mace reveals a makara which characterises it even more as an Indian weapon, in contrast to the sword with its nomadic reminiscences.

The crocodilian makara possesses a dual nature in Indian art. On the one hand it is the emblem of the fructifying principle inherent in moisture. It is itself a demonic creature living in water. On the other hand it is an emblem of conflict, violence and death. This first symbolic meaning as the abundance of life need not be discussed further here. It is well-known and has been treated by many authors. In this mace we are dealing with the second, less well-known meaning which has not been the subject of a special study yet.

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The makara on this mace gives the magical power of spreading death and destruction. In the Mahābhārata (IV, 69 passim) and in Kautilya's Arthaśāstra (X. II. VI.) a formidable battle array is several times described as a makara formation. In the Mahābhārata (I. 138) the mighty hero Bhīma is compared to a makara entering the sea, and to the God of Death, Yama, when with mace in hand he penetrates the pāñcāla ranks fiercely roaring like the ocean in tempest. Kaniṣka must have liked the idea of being compared to a hero as popular as Bhīma and living in the memory of the people he ruled as a mighty and valiant warrior. Thus Kaniṣka's mace symbolises martial triumph and characterises the victorious military commander. This view is confirmed further by the legendary life of Kaniṣka. Constant mention is made of military campaigns and battles and the uncounted dead who remained behind on Kaniṣka's battlefields and for whose sake he had to suffer the penalties of hell after his death. Details may be studied in the respective chapter of Rosenfield's work. It is in keeping with the costume of the equestrian and warrior who felt more at home in the saddle than on a comfortable throne, who never removed his boots and preferred not to exchange his heavy garments for the comfortable and flowing robes of court life. A similar mace is to be seen on a coin of Vima (copper coin 29). It is reproduced standing on its own beside the ruler. We, however, do not find the mace on Kaniṣka's coins, and even on the other Kuṣāna coins only the rudiments of the mace are sometimes indicated. Hermann Berger remarked orally during the discussion after this lecture that the strange name of Vima might well be derived from Bhīma which would add an important point to the explanation of the role of the mace on Kuṣāna coins and sculptures.

§ 9. But Kaniṣka is shown in the same warrior's costume on most of his coins as in the statue from Māṭ. He took over this form of royal representation from his predecessor Vima Kadphises of whom, however, there is only one coin of this type, namely the above-mentioned copper coin. The king is standing frontally, feet apart, head in profile to the left. His right hand is held over a small altar, as if offering sacrifice, while the left clasps the sword. He is heavily bearded and wears a high rounded cap on his head. His heavy topcoat with rolled lapels is held with a double clasp at the chest. Under it the tunic with its belt of round discs is visible. A trident stands to the left of the ruler, to the right the mace with a grip mentioned already, besides this the monogram. Apart from this one example, only Kaniṣka is portrayed in this way.

The example selected here is the "Basileus" type of coin, thus called because the legend runs: BACIΛEYC BACIΛEWN KANHIOKOY. Reverse: CALHNH — Godess of Moon.

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2. Kaniṣka, Gold Coin (enlarged), SHAONANOSHAO Type, courtesy British Museum London

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Kaniṣka is wearing a low, rounded cap. Like Vima he is standing frontally, his head with a heavy untidy beard turned in profile to the left. The wart on his cheek which recurs more or less distinctly on all coins is conspicuous. Here we gain an impression of the head which could complete the torso of the standing portrait statue. He wears a long tunic, long shalwars with spur straps, similar to those found on the statue. Here too the topcoat is held by a double clasp at the chest. The sword hangs from the left hip, its pommel is shaped like an animal neck and head, it could, therefore, correspond to the form of the stone statue. In his left hand he holds a long spear upright. The right hand is stretched in sacrificial offering towards a low altar. A flame emanates from the right shoulder in order to indicate the divine splendour which is an attribute of kingship.

The Greek type is set off by the Iranian type. We call it the SHAONANO-SHAO type. The legend runs : SHAONANO-SHAO KANESHKI KOSHANO. The image of the ruler is not very much different to that of the Basileus type. The most important difference is that while offering over the altar he holds an ankuśa, an elephant goad in his right hand, thus demonstrating that he is a master of India's greatest instrument of warfare — a feature which corresponds to the purport of the mace.

We should devote some more attention to the shoulder flames. They indicate the divine mandate, the devine calling, and they point in the same direction as the nimbus which glows around the head of a ruler in other cases.

It might be tempting to link this fiery or radiant feature with the kavaem khvareno which is bestowed on the ruler by Ahura Mazdao as long as he governs sincerely and justly. Both features are, however, to be found in Buddhism too, where they are ascribed to Buddha. We are, however, primarily interested in knowing whether the Kaniṣka statue was also originally adorned with the sign of supernatural powers. And indeed on the rear side of the stone portrait which was not meant to be seen, there is a regular, uninterrupted incision, from which one may conclude that the torso once possessed a disc-shaped nimbus. This would conform to the title of devaputra or "Son of God".

§ 10. After the coins we may draw upon the so-called Kaniṣka reliquary for comparison. It was discovered by D. B. Spooner in the stūpa of Shāh-jī-kī-ḍherī in Gandhāra in 1908 (ASIAR 1908/09, 1909/10). In doing this we enter the other contemporaneous flourishing province of art of the Kuṣāna empire in the Northwest of India which reflects the entire cosmopolitanism of Kuṣāṇṣahr while the Mathurā school is rooted firmly in Indian soil. The

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small bronze casket slightly over 20 centimetres high, is crowned by a triad on the lid consisting of Buddha flanked by two figures. The reliquary is the ideal example of the Iranian – Indian – Hellenistic – Roman cultural synthesis which took place in Gandhāra, a syncretism reflected in the Kaniṣka and Huviṣka coinage which presents the pantheon of deities from all three cultures on the reverse. The erotes bearing the garlands encircling the receptacle in a wave-pattern are a classical motif of the Mediterranean, a motif which was reinterpreted as part of the Indian symbols of fertility. Another remarkable feature is the inclusion of two Buddhas flanked by Bodhisattvas placed in the garland loops. Above this there are flying swans (haṃsas) at the edge of the casket, another Indian motif. However, the image of the king on the casket interrupting the wreath of garlands is Iranian. He is flanked by the Sun and Moon Gods like an Iranian prince and is thus deified as "The brother of the sun and the moon", as Ammianus Marcellinus said (XXIII 6, 4–6). The king on the reliquary holds lotus flowers in his right hand. He has large feet, heavy boots and the same position of feet astraddle as Kaniṣka's stone portrait. Through his presence the image has the same vigour and imperious manifestation of power which we find in the age of Kaniṣka and the early stages of Huviṣka. The other garments, the tunic, topcoat and shalwar are also the same. The head, however, looks quite different. All that is left of the heavy, untidy-looking beard are some sort of side-burns, which are a feature of the coin portraits of Huviṣka. Because of this dissimilarity Marshall and Rosenfield conclude that this cannot be Kaniṣka I but, as they suggest, Kaniṣka II who is mentioned only once in the ĀRĀ – inscription. I am, however, not quite so sure whether one can make everything depend on the Emperor's beard; but there is no doubt that the reliquary remains an unsolved enigma. There are various interpretations of the inscription and above all its dating to year 1 of Kaniṣka is questioned. The untrustworthy attribution to a Greek artist named Agesilaos is due to a reading mistake, too.

§ 11. We, however, move on more solid ground, when dealing with Surkh Kotal, which lies in the Southern part of the Bactrian plain and which in the fifties was excavated by the Delegation Archaelogique Francaise in Afghanistan under the direction of Daniel Schlumberger (JA 1952, 1954, 1955). The Temple is situated on top of a hill and was approached by five flights of stairs. It was in all probability a fire temple, but it was certainly a dynastic shrine like Māṭ near Mathurā. Five princely effigies in stone were found here, unfortunately, even more heavily damaged than those of Māṭ. The long inscription in cursive Greek letters and a Central Iranian language the reading and translation of which is still highly controversial starts with the sentence : "This acro-

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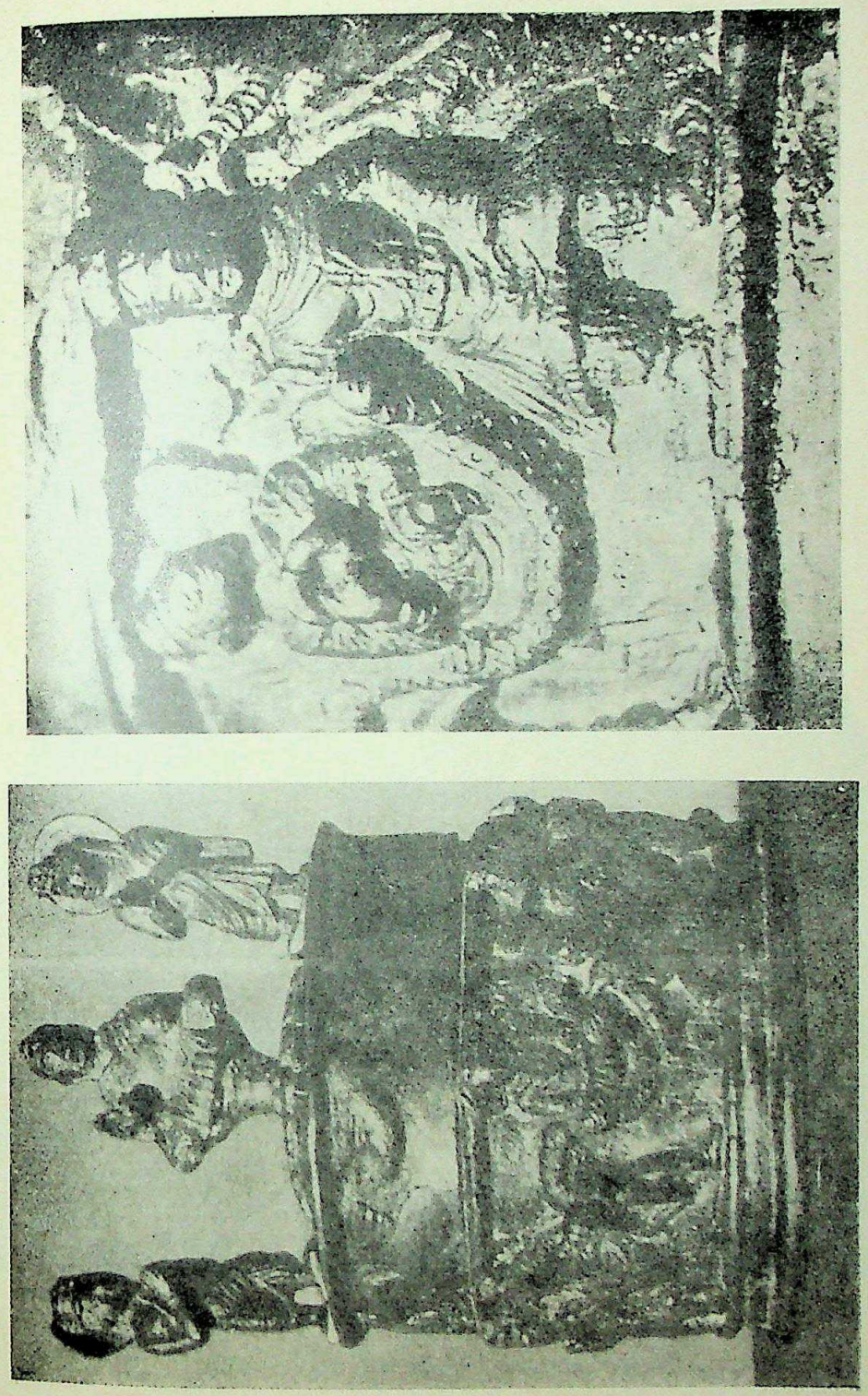

3. So-called Kaniṣka Reliquiary, Copper, H. 20 cm, Shāh-jī-ki-dheṛi, courtesy Museum Peshawar

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4. Kaniṣka (?), Kuṣāna Statue, Stone, H. 115 cm,
Surkh Kotal, courtesy Museum Kabul

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polis, the Kaniṣka — Nikator sanctuary, to which the lord, King Kaniṣka gave his Name". So Surkh Kotal may have been a temple of Kaniṣka just as Māṭ was a temple of Vima Kadphises. Of the five royal effigies found in Surkh Kotal the most important one is a lime-stone statue in an ornate tunic reaching below the knees and a heavy topcoat. Perhaps it is a statue of Kaniṣka himself. It has a wide full-bloused shalwar with foot straps over the shoes. The proportions, the frontality, the hieratic symmetry, the splay-footed pose are similarities which urge upon a strong connection. They have an anti-illusionist effect and archaize the royal portrait.

The Kaniṣka figure from Mathurā wears high felt boots and the shalwar is not visible at all. He appears to be prepared for military engagement in a simple, more tightly drawn robe, with little ornament, and heavily armed. This would conform with the destination of Mathurā which seems to have been more a military camp than a princely court. In Surkh Kotal the clothing has the same basic form but appears more ornate. The tunic is adorned with a pipal leave pattern running down the centre. The mace is missing. The sword is smaller, it hangs from the belt and appears more like an ornamental dagger. The figure is that of Kaniṣka of Mathurā but arrayed in the festive robes of the palace in times of peace. This tendency to more finery is also found in another torso whose upper body, 133 centimetres high, is preserved. It bears a fur-edged topcoat with disc-shaped buckles. The statue in Mathurā is much flatter and drastically destroys any illusion of depth. The standing statues of Surkh Kotal on the other hand have more depth being images with a three-dimensional effect because of the manifold transitions in the changing lines of the folds. This may be observed especially in the full bloused shalwars. This comparison shows the cultural span between the Indian outpost Mathurā and the centre in this kingdom welded together by the Kuṣānas. It is reflected not only in the acropolis of Surkh Kotal but especially in Kapiśa near Begram, the summer capital of the Kuṣānas, where precious treasures from all parts of the world have been found including Alexandrian metal statuettes, Syrian glassware, lacquered chests from Han China and ivory slabs from India, remaining from wooden toilet chests long decayed.

In this connection the dynastic shrine excavated from 1962 to 1964 by the Soviets in Chalčajan, east of Termez — that is in the centre of ancient Bactria and in the heart of old Kuṣānṣahr — is of special interest. Unfortunately, I have only had the opportunity of reading the description given by Belenickij in the Archaeologia Mundi, but not of seeing any pictures yet. Its main hall was decorated on top with a frieze of garlands and erotes like the Kaniṣka

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reliquary. Below that there were sculptured groups, e.g. the seated figures of a king and queen surrounded by their family and with deities swaying above their heads. Also one group of ten people and another of seven to eight riders in Central Asian costume. Among the smaller discoveries we may refer to a small terracotta medallion with the following image : A bearded man seated on a low throne wearing a pointed hat, high boots, and a belted tunic. Understandably this medallion has been connected with the stone statue of Mathurā referred to at the beginning which portrays Vima Kadphises.

§ 12. In India, unfortunately, we have no opportunity of using shrines with royal effigies for comparison. The only known example, the cave on the Nānāghāt-Pass, still bears name inscriptions of the first Śātavāhana kings from the second half of the first century B.C. but the portraits belonging to them have been destroyed by erosion. On the other hand we find a number of examples in the culture of Iran, for instance, in Shamī or on the Nimrud Dagh. Toprak Kala in Khwārezm possessed a hall with multi-coloured princely portraits in stucco. As the most impressive example we shall select a group of portrait statues which have been excavated 1951 in Hatra in northern Iran outside the palace area (Sumer VIII, 1952 and IX, 1953). The cultural culmination of this small oasis occurred at the same time as that of Kuṣānṣahr. Fifteen royal statues and more than thirty images of deities were found here. Attention may be drawn to some features which show a certain similarity to the portraits of Māṭ and Surkh Kotal. First of all the splay-footed pose which is manifested most distinctly in the image of a god with a goat. The costumes also bear much resemblance. The most prominent feature is the rigid frontality, e.g. King Sanatruq who reigned during Traian's seige in 117 A.D. Like Kaniṣka the statue is reduced to simple almost stereometric lines. The king's body is a cylinder, his beard has a spadelike shape with symmetrical wave pattern of lines. Just as the beard is covered with a wave pattern of lines, the tunic is covered with an embroidered circle pattern. This rich surface adornment contrasts with the plain simplicity of the plastic structure of the underlying forms. This is one reason why we assume that the surface ornament now missing on the Kaniṣka statue was in the form of painting. A rich climbing vine decorates the stocky figure of an unknown nobleman. We may compare it to Surkh Kotal where the vine branch with its systematically arranged leaves was transformed into the leaf form of the pipal tree commonly found in India. Thus the Kuṣāna portraits of Mathurā and Surkh Kotal were not isolated occurances. There are differences in the religious, geographical and historical background, but they all belong to a common Iranian sphere of culture.

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§ 13. In concluding we shall turn our attention to Mathurā and its school again. Anyone, whoever he may be, who sees the Kaniṣka statue among the forest of other statues from the Mathurā school in the Archaeological Museum of Mathurā, feels the exotic fascination emanating from it. Its exaggerated flatness and its silhouette-like character detach it from daily life and its vigorous display and lift it to a solemn, supernatural world. Even the other sculptural pieces are pillar figures and bound to the wall of the shrine but they show in spite of all frontality their overpowering roundness and an inclination to robust solidness and thickest proportions. A group of Bodhisattva figures draw attention when compared to the Kaniṣka statue. They have the same monolith–like vigour, the same impressive frontality and heaviness of the limbs. The ungainly feet which stand in a splay-footed pose, although they are not completely turned outwards, appear to be especially weighty. One example is to be found in the Śakyamuni donated, as the inscription says, by the monk Bala in the year 3 of the Kaniṣka era, and now in the Museum of Sārnāth. The other figures in the group from Kauśambī and Śrāvastī are also dated in the early years of Kaniṣka's rule, so that one may conclude that the statue of the king also belongs to this early period. This is also probable because it was placed in a shrine of his predecessor. The epigraphic findings support this date : In the donations of the monk Bala we find the same letter types and the same unusual spelling of Kaniṣka's name with a long "a" to be found on the king's statue itself.

§ 14. In Indian tradition we find the cakravartin, the world emperor, with his seven jewels whose pictorial representation is frequent in the Śātavāhana empire neighbouring the Kuṣānas in the south. The cakravartin bears no weapons. Due to Buddhist influence he represents the idealized king who reigns justly in peace without violence. Images of cakravartins, there are about thirty, are never portraits, they do not mean a special king. They stand in complete contrast to the Kaniṣka statue which represents the equestrian general of the military camp of Mathurā furnished with the terrible weapons of destruction, a portrait executed by the royal sculptor according to the ruler's will in order to create the appearance of a godlike being, which is indicated also by the inscription.

The mahārājā rājātirājā devaputra Kaniṣka is a deified royal figure, victorious prince of the steppes, who appears with the club of Bhīma, the hero of the Mahābhārata, and with his hieratic stylization radiates archaic vigour and solemnity like the image of a god. He stands like Kuṣānaṣahr itself, whose power he personified, at the junction of Central Asian, Iranian and

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Indian influences, all three of which contributed to his shaping. The Hellenistic Roman components predominating in Gandhāra influence it in no way. But a prototype from the Iranian-Parthenian region certainly played a decisive role in its execution. In the development of Indian Art it has, together with the other Kuṣāna royal portraits, neither a forerunner nor descendants.

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TWENTY INDRA LEGENDS

BY

WILHEM RAU (Marburg)

It is an open question whether the standard works on Vedic Mythology[1] enable others to gain a vivid picture of the Indra of pre-Buddhist times : to me, at any rate, they fail to render such service. The ordinary student would, I believe, like to hear first of all the legends told about this deity by the ancient texts and is surely disappointed with the meagre information furnished by the handbooks in this respect. Instead, he finds himself straight away involved in highly scholarly discussions about Indra's 'original' character. Was he, in pre-Vedic times, primarily a god of creation, or of the sun, or of thunder-storm, or of fertility, or of war, or of the nobility ? His prehistory is investigated before he has duly been introduced.

Turning from secondary literature to original texts like the Ṛgveda we experience, unfortunately, another disillusionment. Apart from a few hymns[2] the mantras offer all sorts of enigmatical allusions instead of a coherent story. They do not shed light on the subject but stand in need of elucidation themselves.

It is first in the Saṃhitās of the Black Yajurveda and in the Brāhmaṇas that we occasionally come across tales of Indra's exploits which help us to recognize at least dimly what he was like in the imagination of his believers. Strangely enough, little attention has been paid to such passages so far[3] and

1. E. g. Macdonell, A.A. : Vedic Mythology, Strassburg 1897, pp. 54-66. — Oldenberg, H. : Die Religion des Veda, Stuttgart und Berlin 1923, pp. 133-178. — Hillebrandt, A. : Vedische Mythologie, Breslau 1927 und 1929, Band 2, pp. 137-263. Dumézil, G. : Aspects de la fonction guerrière chez les indo-européens = Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Section des Sciences Religieuses, tome LXVIII, Paris 1956. — Gonda, J. : Die Religionen Indiens. I. Veda und älterer Hinduismus, Stuttgart 1960, pp. 53-62.

2. E. g. 4, 18 [314] : Birth; 1, 32 : Vṛtra; 10, 108 [934] : Paṇis; 10, 86 [912] : Vṛṣākapi; 8, 91 [700] : Apālā.

3. Some of H. Oertel's papers make a commendable exception : Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. 18, 1897, pp. 16-18 (Indra and Dadhyañc); pp. 25-33 (Indra cures Apālā; Indra, Kutsa aud Luśa); pp. 34-39 (The *subrahmaṇyā*). — vol. 19, 1898, pp. 97-103 (Saramā and the Paṇis); pp. 118-125 (*Indrasya kilbiṣāṇi*). — vol. 26, 1905, 176-188 and 306-314 (Indra in the guise of a woman); pp. 192-196 (Indra in the guise of a monkey disturbs the sacrifice); — vol. 28, 1907, pp. 81-98 (The story of Uśanas Kāvya, the three-headed Gandharva and Indra). — Actes du Onzième Congrès

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no attempt has been made yet to make them accessible in o n e place. As a preliminary step in this direction[1] a collection of twenty tales culled from the texts mentioned above[2] is here placed before the fellow students in India with the friendly request to add to their number whenever possible.[3] It would, in my opinion, be hasty to form a definite opinion about Indra's character in later Vedic times before all the relevant material has been collected. At this stage, we should rather be content with reading these tales attentively and not jump to conclusions. Keeping this in mind the reader will probably be as much surprised by what he does not find as by what he discovers. There is, for example, absolutely no description of Indra's outward appearance of which we hear a lot of detail in the Ṛgveda, beginning with his golden hair or beard and ending with his chariot and famous duns.[4] Not a word of any *vāhana,* either Airāvata or Uccaiḥśravas, no throne, no place, no paradise, no *apsaras.* Excepting the fact that Indra is credited with the creation of the clouds and the fixing of the earth[5] or once identified with the sun[6] we do not find him concerned with any cosmic function, least of all with releasing the waters. A detailed account of his struggle with Vṛtra is wanting,[7] nowhere do the Maruts appear as his companions in the text reproduced here. Nor does

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International des Orientalistes, Paris 1897, vol. I, Paris 1899, pp. 235–239 (Dīrghajihvā legend). — Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, vol. XV, 1909, pp. 180–193 (The contest of Indra and Tvaṣṭṛ's son).

1. Five years ago the present writer has translated fifteen Indra legends into German : Asiatische Studien, Band 20, 1966, pp. 72–100, of which thirteen reappear now in English garb.

2. What the Jātakas or the Epics have to say in this connection should be treated separately.

3. I have on purpose left aside some of the passages studied by H. Oertel, — see note 3 above —, partly because of their shortness and partly because of their indecent contents. For others there was no space here; e.g. Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa 3, 190 (Indra revives the Vaikhānasas); 3, 193–194 (Indra and the dolphin); 3, 203 (Indra and the tortoise); 3, 266 (Indra saves Viśvamanas); 3, 238–239 (Indra helps Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni); — Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa 25, 13, 3 (Indra's race with Ruśamas); — Ṣaḍviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa 1, 1, 24 (Indra as a scout in war).

4. See Geldner, K. F. : Der Rig-Veda aus dem Sanskrit ins Deutsche übersetzt und mit einem laufenden Kommentar versehen. Vierter Teil : Namen- und Sachregister zur Übersetzung. Cambridge/Mass. 1957 [= Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 36], pp. 54–71.

5. No. 2.

6. No. 11.

7. It may perhaps be reconstructed by piecing together short references scattered here and there, in the way shown by K. Hoffmann, Mélanges d'Indianisme a la mémoire de Louis Renou, Paris 1968, pp. 367–380.

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Indra seem to be the god of any particular tribe or caste. Properly invoked, he comes to the rescue of men and women, kṣatriyas and brāhmaṇas, regardless of their social station. Yet, his character is by no means above reproach. As a drunken giant, a wanton lover, an unfair crafty opponent, a good-hearted benefactor when it so pleases him, he probably represents a true counterpart of his worshippers, the Vedic Aryans. His relationship with Agni is good,[1] with Varuṇa bad[2] if we understand the Rohita legend correctly, and indifferent with the remaining gods. Among them he occupies if not the highest place, at least a station certainly not inferior to that of any other. And if we ask which qualities raise him to the rank of chief antagonist of the demons, the answer must be : definitely no moral merits, and physical strength clearly less than cunning or magic. He possesses a marvellous aptitude to transform himself into almost any imaginable form or shape : a rush-blade,[3] a honey-comb,[4] a leech,[5] a fish,[6] a parrot,[7] an eagle,[8] a ram,[9] a hyena,[10] an attendant,[11] an old man,[12] and a brāhmaṇa.[13] It seems that Ṛgveda 6, 47 [488], 18 and 3, 53 [287], 8 must be understood quite literally : we need no philosophy to explain these stanzas. Indra exhibits a propensity for spiritual knowledge only in the very latest strata of the texts utilized here.[14]

A very striking feature of our legends which has nothing to do with Indra but should not pass unnoticed is their aetiological fancy. Wherever an occasion presents itself, the narrators pause to account for the origin or the special qualities of inanimate things, plants, living beings, humans, ethnic groups, even of popular sayings, proverbs and legal maxims. Examples abound, and as most of the objects so explained belong to the secular rather than to the ritual sphere of life, we may take the popular origin of these tales for granted.

1. No. 11.
2. No. 13.
3. No. 8.
4. No. 7.
5. No. 8.
6. No. 14.
7. No. 8.
8. No. 7.
9. No. 20.
10. No. 6.
11. No. 3.
12. No. 15.
13. Nos. 9, 13, 17.
14. Nos. 18 and 19 with which compare the still more recent story told in Chāndogyopaniṣad 8, 7–12.

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My translation attempts to follow the original text as closely as possible,[1] so that the reader may taste the flavour of the oldest Indo-European narrative prose. It yet possesses neither subordinate clauses nor indirect speech. Curt uncouth statements are artlessly placed side by side like the unhewn boulders of a Cyclopean wall. Inspite of this, the style is at least to my mind not without a certain charm, even if it were for its force and bluntness only. A word or two had to be added here and there to facilitate the understanding without adding too many footnotes. Last not least I crave the indulgence of the readers for my awkward English : the best I can do is probably still far from satisfactory.

1. Indra's Birth.[2]

Wishing for children Aditi cooked a pap. She ate what was left over. Dhātṛ and Aryaman were born to her. She cooked another. She ate what was left over. Mitra and Varuṇa were born to her. She cooked another. She ate what was left over. Aṃśa and Bhaga were born to her. She cooked another. She thought : Each time I eat what is left over, two sons are born to me. Probably I shall get something still better when I eat beforehand. After she had eaten beforehand she served the pap. Her two next sons spoke even as children in the womb : "We both shall be as much as all the sons of Aditi". The sons of Aditi searched for someone to procure their abortion. Aṃśa and Bhaga procured the abortion of those two. Therefore no oblation is made to them at the sacrifice. Instead Aṃśa's portion is the stake in betting. Bhaga ('Fortune') went abroad. Therefore people say : "Go abroad, you meet fortune there !" Due to his vital energy Indra rose up. The other foetus fell down dead. This, forsooth, was Mārtāṇḍa of whom men are the descendants. Now Aditi turned to her sons saying : "This should be mine. This ought not to perish uselessly !" They said : "He should then call himself one of us, he should not look down on us !" This, verily, was Aditi's son Vivasvat, the father of Manu Vaivasvata and Yama. Manu dwelled in this, Yama in yonder world.

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1. Wherever the editions are faulty I have taken the liberty to correct them, see pp. 111–333, below.

2. Indra's Birth = Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā 1, 6. 12 with due consideration of the emendations proposed by K. Hoffmann, Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft, Heft 11, 1957, 87–88.

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2. How Indra created the clouds.[1]

The oldest descendants of Prajāpati are the mountains. Formerly they had wings. Whenever they wanted, they flew off and settled down. In those days the earth was still unsteady. Indra cut off the wings of the mountains. He pressed the earth down with them. The wings became clouds. That is why they are always flying towards the mountains, for they originated from there. That is why it rains most in the mountains.

3. How Indra killed Tvaṣṭṛ's son and Vṛtra.[2]

A son of Tvaṣṭṛ had three heads. He has three mouths : With one he drank Soma, with the other he drank spirits, and with the third he ate food. With

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1. How Indra created the clouds = Kāṭhaka-Saṃhitā 36, 7. — Parallel version : Maitrāyaṇī-Saṃhitā 1, 10, 13.

2. How Indra killed Tvaṣṭṛ's son and Vṛtra = Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa 2, 153-157. — Parallel versions : Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā 2, 3, 9 — 2, 4, 1; Kāṭhaka-Saṃhitā 12, 10; Taittirīya-Saṃhitā 2, 5, 1 — 3; Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa 1, 6, 3, 1-22; 5, 5, 4, 2-13; 12, 7, 1, 1-14.

Edition used : Jaiminiya-Brahmana of the Samaveda. Complete text critically edited for the first time by Prof. Dr. Raghu Vira and Dr. Lokesh Chandra. Nagpur 1954 = Sarasvati-Vihara Series, volume 31.

Corrections :

Page 225, line 33 : *sa ha smaikāky evānuparisarpaṃ sarvaṃ yajñaṃ saṃsthāpayati*; see H. Oertel, Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, vol. 15, 1909, 180.

226, 11 : *yajñād 2 = yajñād-yajñād.*

226, 23 : *sa ha smeṣumātram ūrdhvam udardati*; see W. Caland, Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Bd, 28, 1914, 68.

226, 23 : *sa trayīṃ vidyāṃ sarvāṃ śriyaṃ;* see H. Oertel, loc. cit. 181, und W. Caland, loc. cit. 68.

227, 4 : *pīto 'nupahūto.*

227, 5 : *bhiṣajya* = curable; Indra is the subject of the sentence.

227, 6 : *tasya yad avāg iyāya,* see 227, 24.

227, 10 : *na vai vidma yatra bhūmeti.*

227, 11 : *cukṣūṣāmi;* see H. Oertel, loc. cit. 182.

227, 12 : *cukṣāva;* see H. Oertel, loc, cit. 182.

227, 14 : *manyeta taṃ [cukṣvāṃsaṃ] brūyāj jīveti,*

227, 22 : *siṃhau ;* see Kāṭhaka-Saṃhitā 12, 10 [ed. L. v. Schroeder, p. 172, 15] : *tasya yan nasto 'mucyata tau siṃhā abhavatām.*

227, 25 : *taṃ hocuḥ kveva te rujati kveva te bhiṣajyāma iti / tasmād idam apy etarhy upatāpinaṃ pṛcchanti kveva te rujati kveva te bhiṣājyāma iti / sa ha tṛṇāny abhipradiśann uvācedam ivaivam āmito 'smīdam ivaivaṃ māmitaṃ bhiṣajyateti,*

227, 32 : *prātassavane 'vānayan ;* see H. Oertel, loc. cit. 183.

227, 33 : *śṛtaṃ mādhyaṃdine savane 'śreṣṭheva vā aneneti tasmāc chṛtam / dadhi tṛtīya-savane 'dādhīva vā aneneti tasmād dadhi ;* see D. Schrapel, Untersuchung der Partikel *iva*

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one mouth he chanted as a Prastotṛ, with the other as an Udgātṛ, and with the third as a Pratihartṛ. With one mouth he uttered the call of an Adhvaryu, with the other he replied with response of an Agnīdh, while with the third he recited the *ṛk*-stanzas as a Hotṛ. By going around in this way he completed one full sacrifice all by himself. Such were his magic powers. He was also a son of a female demon. Openly he used to promise a share to the gods but secretly to the demons. One promises a share secretly to him for whom one desires more success. Now Indra was afraid of him because he was the son of a female demon and because he possessed such magic powers. He reflected : "This son of a female demon is demoniacal indeed. Openly he promises a share to us but secretly to the demons. Well, I shall slay him !" He cut off his heads with his thunderbolt. They became birds. The one which drank Soma, became a heathcock. For this reason he is reddish brown, because Soma is reddish brown. The one which drank spirits, became a sparrow. That is why he stammers like a drunkard. Further, the one which ate food, became a partridge. That is why he is multi-coloured as it were, because food is multi-coloured as it were. That is why this is the food of the partridge : the caterpillar in *śaṅkuli*.[1] Tvaṣṭṛ deprived Indra of the Soma-drink because Indra had slain his son. Indra reflected : "If I am excluded from t h i s sacrifice, I shall perhaps be excluded from all other sacrifices as well. Now then, I shall slay him !" With the thunderbolt in his hand, he attacked him. Tvaṣṭṛ turned round and took refuge among the wives of the gods. Indra did not follow him there. That is why an offering is made to Tvaṣṭṛ together with the offerings to the wives of the gods. That is why one should not kill him who has taken refuge among women. Indra appeared. He arrived just when the priests were busy purifying King Soma in the vat still on the two Havirdhāna wheel carts. With the vat he put him to his mouth, drank and went away. Thereafter Tvaṣṭṛ came out. He asked : "Is there anything remaining ?" "Here is the heel-tap", replied the priests. Tvaṣṭṛ poured it in the fire saying : "Grow up to be overcome by Indra[2], *svāhā* !" Because he poured out (*prāvartayat*) the heel-tap, Vṛtra was born from it. Even while he was being poured, he took possession of Agni and Soma. That is why people say : "Agni

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und anderer lexikalisch-syntaktischer Probleme der vedischen Prosa nebst zahlreichen Textemendationen und der kritischen Übersetzung von Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa 2, 371–373 (Gavāmayana I). Phil. Diss. Marburg 1970, 65 und 68–69.

1. Translation is uncertain.

2. *indraśatruḥ* Tvaṣṭṛ in his excitement stressed the word wrongly; actually he wanted to say : *indraśatrúḥ*. On account of this mistake the word magic worked for the benefit of Indra.

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and Soma are demoniacal !" Daily he grew by one arrow shot. Then he...[1] the threefold knowledge, all prosperity, abundance of food. In short, he took possession of all the thousand good things enumerated during the three - day - sacrifice. All the world had to pay tribute to him. The rivers brought him nectar. Further he had a retinue named "Attackers" : Eight gods, eight ancestral spirits, eight men and eight demons. Intending to kill Vṛtra Indra became one of these with the help of his magic power. Indra was able to kill him only because Tvaṣṭṛ had poured out the heel-tap saying : "Grow up to be overcome by Indra, *svāhā* !" But had he poured out the heel-tap saying : "Grow up to overcome Indra, *svāhā* !", Indra would never have been able to kill him. King Soma after having been drunk by Indra, left him again because Indra had not been invited to drink him. He ran out of all the openings of his body except his mouth. That is why Indra was still curable. What ran out of him downwards, became *vāriṭakā* spirit. What ran out of his penis, became brandy. He spat out three times. What he spat out the first time, became the *karkandhu*–fruit[2]. What he spat out the second time, became the *badara*–fruit[2]. What he spat out the third time, became the *kvala*–fruit[2]. That is why their juices are food. After he had cleared his throat, he spat out a fourth time. This became the mango-fruit.

When he was in this plight the gods sat around him and said : "This is the condition of our chief champion. He has come to this point. What will happen to us?" Then Indra said : "We do not know what will happen to us". — "Why ?" — "Because I must sneeze !" Now previously people died when they had sneezed. The gods spoke to him : "You just sneeze ! We shall say to you : 'Live !' ". Then he sneezed. They said to him : 'Live !' And he lived. That is why even today people say to him who has sneezed : 'Live !' That is why one should say to him whom one esteems, 'Live !' when he has sneezed.

What went out of his nose, became a pair of lions. What went out of his eyes, became a pair of tigers. What went out of his ears, became a pair of *vailūṣa*–wolves. What went out of his armpits, became a pair of clawed-killers. That is why they are the strongest birds. Indra is their origin. What went out of his anus, became the small beasts of prey here on earth.

Completely empty Indra lay there. Even the grass was higher than he. Then the gods said to him : "Where does it pain you ? Where can we comfort you ?" That is why even today people ask a sick man : "Where does it pain you ? Where can we comfort you ?" He pointed towards the grass

1. Text corrupt.
2. Sub-species of Zizyphus jujuba Lam.

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around him and said : "Here I am sick in a way. Here get me some comfort !" Then they said to Agni : "Burn this grass !" Agni burnt it. Then they said to Parjanya : "Rain on this grass !" Parjanya rained on it. Good herbs grew up there. The gods sucked at them with the help of milch-cows. They milked their milk. Then they perceived this sacrifice. They employed it. They performed this sacrifice for Indra. In this sacrifice they mixed freshly milked milk *(pratiduh)* with the morning pressing of Soma. "Through the milk he was restored *(pratyadhāyi)* to some extent", — that is why it is called *pratiduh*. They mixed cooked milk *(śṛta)* with the noon time pressing. "Through it he propped himself up *(aśreṣṭa)* to some extent", that is why it is called *śṛta*. They mixed curds *(dadhi)* with the evening pressing. "Through it he was held upright *(adādhi)* somehow", that is why it is called *dadhi*. Afterwards Indra became stronger than before. If somebody vomits Soma or excretes Soma, he should perform this sacrifice. Thereafter he will be stronger than before. That is why one should not look down on one who vomits Soma or excretes Soma, for Indra too was in the same plight.

4. How Indra killed Namuci.[1]

After Indra had killed Vṛtra and destroyed the demons, he could not get hold of the demon Namuci. He could catch him with trickery only. They both wrestled with each other. Namuci proved to be superior to Indra. He said : "Let us make a contract, then I shall let you go. You must not injure me with anything dry or anything liquid, either during the day or during the night !" Indra cast the foam of water (as melted ore) to a thunderbolt. Foam is neither dry nor liquid. It was dawn : the sun had not yet risen. This is neither by day nor by night. At this time[2], he whirled his head off with the foam of water. It kept rolling behind him and cried : "Contract-breaker !" Then Indra created these *apāmārga*-plants[3]. He offered them. With these he actually averted the evil from himself.

5. How Indra overcame Makha.[4]

The gods, forsooth, held a sacrificial session in Kurukṣetra : Agni, Makha, Vāyu and Indra. They said : "Whatever one of us gains first, that will be our com-

1. How Indra killed Namuci = Taittarīya-Brāhmaṇa 1, 7, 1, 6–8. — Parallel versions : Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā 4, 3, 4; Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa 12, 6, 8–9; Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa 12, 7, 3, 1–6.

2. *loka* in the sense of 'time' also Taittarīya-Brāhmaṇa 1, 1, 4, 3.

3. Achyranthes aspera Linné.

4. How Indra overcame Makha = Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā 4, 5, 9. — Parallel versions : Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa 14, 1, 1, 1–17; Taittarīya-Āraṇyaka 5, 1. Edition used : Maitrāyaṇī

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mon property." Among them Makha had the first gain. He wished to keep that for himself. He did not share it. They tried to take it away from him by force. He created from his right hand three arrows and from his left hand a bow. This is the origin of the three arrows and the bow. He walked off ready to shoot. They did not dare approach him. He stood there leaning on the tip of his bow. Then Indra spoke to the ants : "Gnaw through this bow-string !" They said : "We shall not be able to live on this earth after she has been defiled by a dead body. Let us have some other share !" He said : "You may live on the earth's moisture !" Therefore they dig up humid soil from dry land, because they live on earth's moisture. They gnawed through the bow-string. The tip of his bow sprang up and cut his head off.

6. How Indra recovered the sacrifice and won the earth for the gods. [1]

Having assumed Viṣṇu's shape the sacrifice kept hiding from the gods. He entered into the earth. Grasping hands the gods searched for him. Indra several times trod upon him. He said : "Who has there several times trodden upon me ?" "I, he who slays in the wilderness. But who are you ?" "I, he who fetches from the wilderness." He said : "You indeed, have called yourself him who slays in the wilderness. This wealth-robbing boar keeps beyond the seven mountains the obtainable treasure of the demons. Slay him, if you are he who slays in the wilderness !" Pulling out a bunch of *darbha* grass[2] he split with it the seven mountains and slew him. He said : "You have called yourself him who fetches from the wilderness. Fetch the treasure !" For them sacrifice himself fetched the sacrifice. Inasmuch as they obtained *(avindanta)* the obtainable treasure of the demons, the *vedi*[3] is called *vedi* once. Formerly, this earth, verily,

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Saṃhitā. Die Saṃhitā der Maitrāyaṇīya-Śākhā. Herausgegeben von Leopold von Schroeder. Viertes Buch, Leipzig 1886.

Corrections :

76, 18 : *tán naḥ sahéti. ... tán nyàkāmayata.*

77, 1 : *tán ná sámasṛjata.*

77, 3 : *nābhyadhṛṣṇuvant sá dha°.*

77, 4 : *ápyattéti.*

1. How Indra recovered the sacrifice and won the earth for the gods = Taittirīya-Saṃhitā 6, 2, 4, 2-4. — Parallel versions : Maitrāyaṇī-Saṃhitā 3, 8, 3; Kāṭhaka-Saṃhitā 25, 2. See B. Ghosh, Collections of the fragments of lost Brāhmaṇas, Calcutta 1947, 104-105,

2. Eragrostis cynosuroides R. and S. = Poa cynosuroides Retz.

3. An elevated (or according to some excavated) piece of ground serving for a sacrificial altar (generally strewed with Kuśa grass, and having receptacles for the sacrificial fire; it is more or less raised and of various shapes, but usually narrow in the middle, on which account the female waist is often compared to it). M. Monier-Williams.

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belonged to the demons; the gods possessed only as much as a man can survey, sitting. The gods said: "Let us have a share of this earth, too!" "How much are we to give you?" "Give us as large a piece as this hyena runs around thrice!" Having assumed the shape of a hyena Indra thrice ran around all the earth. Thus they won the earth. Inasmuch as they obtained *(avindanta)* the earth, this *vedi* is called *vedi* for the second time.

7. How Indra stole *amṛta* from Śuṣṇa.[1]

The gods and the demons were at war. At that time the *amṛta* was in the possession of the demons, with Śuṣṇa Dānava. Śuṣṇa Dānava carried it in his mouth. Those of the gods whom the demons had killed, remained dead. But those of the demons, whom the gods had killed, were revived by Śuṣṇa with *amṛta*. They began to breathe again. Indra came to know: "The *amṛta* is in the possession of the demons, with Śuṣṇa Dānava." He transformed himself into a ball-shaped honey-comb[2] and lay on the road. Śuṣṇa opened his mouth to swallow him. At that moment Indra transformed himself into an eagle and snatched *amṛta* from his mouth. That is why the eagle is the strongest of birds: it is a form of Indra's.

8. How Indra won over Uśanas Kāvya for the Gods.[3]

Fighting for a long time, the gods and the demons achieved no deciding victory. Bṛhaspati was the chief priest of the gods and Uśanas Kāvya the chief priest of the demons. Whatever magic was used from below, the same

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1. How Indra stole the *amṛta* from Śuṣṇa = Kāṭhaka-Saṃhitā 37, 14. See J. Narten, Das vedische Verbum *math*, Indo-Iranian Journal, vol. 4, 1960, 123, where the words *āsyād amṛtaṃ niramuṣṇāt* have been emended to *āsyād amṛtaṃ niramathnāt*.

2. See K. Hoffmann, Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft, Heft 27, 1970, 60, and D. Schrapel, Heft 28, 1970, 106–107.

3. How Indra won over Uśanas Kāvya for the Gods = Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa 1. 125–127. — Parallel version: Baudhāyana-Śrautasūtra 18, 46–47. For the edition used see Note 2 p. 203.

Corrections:

53, 14: *triśīrṣā gandharvo;* see H. Oertel, Journal of the American Oriental Society vol. 28, 1907, 82.

53, 14: *sa herṣyur āsa;* cf. JB 2, 270 [276, 15] and 3, 197 [436, 25]. See also W. Caland, Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Bd. 28, 1914, 76.

53, 17: *tad dhaiva saṃavdamānāv ājagāma;* see W. Caland, loc. cit. 76.

53, 18: *upaśiśleṣa;* see H. Oertel, loc. cit. 82.

53, 32: *kāmadughās tābhir [iti | tatheti |] tābhir ha pra tv ity eva pradudruvatuh;* see H. Oertel, loc. cit. 83.

54, 3: *taṃ haivāsurā nātīyuḥ;* see H. Oertel, loc. cit. 83.

54, 4: *devān ājagmatuḥ;* see H. Oertel, loc. cit. 83.

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was used from above. As the magic was equal, it achieved no deciding victory. A three-headed Gandharva knew of means to achieve the deciding victory between them. He was distrustful. His palace was a ship floating on water. Indra came to know : "The Three-headed one knows of a means to achieve the deciding victory." He went up to the Gandharva's wife to find out the means to achieve a deciding victory. He said to her : "Ask your husband whether the gods or the demons who have been fighting for so long, will win ?" While these two were talking together, the three-headed Gandharva returned home. Indra immediately transformed himself into a leech or a reed and hung on the ship's side. Then she asked her husband : "The gods and the demons have been fighting for so long, — who of them will win ?" "Not so loud", he said, "the earth has ears". Therefore even nowadays people say : "Not so loud, the earth has ears." "Never mind", she said, "tell me !" He said : "Both these brāhmaṇas, Bṛhaspati of the gods and Uśanas Kāvya of the demons, know as much as the other. Whatever they both do, produces equal results. Whatever sacrificial offerings are made by one, the same are made by the other. These sacrificial offerings meet and because there is absolute equality, they again separate and disappear. Those, on whose side one of the chief priests goes over, will win." When Indra heard this, he flew away transformed into a parrot. While he flew away, the Gandharva looked after him and said : "They will win for whose benefit the green one there is flying !"

Indra came to Uśanas Kāvya who lived with the demons. He said to him : "Sage, what sort of people do you support here ? You belong to us and we to you. Join us !" "On what conditions ?", he said, "What have you got to offer ?" "I have the wishing-cows of Virocana Prāhlādi to offer." With the words : Off then..."[1], they both ran away taking the cows along. The demons followed them. They came nearer and nearer to them. Then Indra said : "Sage, the demons have come quite close to us. Arrange it so that they do not overtake us". Both of them then recited the *ṛk*–stanza :

> "The brilliant drop, well provided with arms, purifies itself, destroying bewitchments, protecting cattle, providing father of the gods, pillar of Heaven, support of the earth.".[2]

With it they erected a pillar right up to heaven. The demons could not come over it. They reached the gods along with the cows. When they had arrived, Uśanas Kāvya praised himself and Indra with the *ṛk*–stanza :

"The inspired sage, the prince of the people, a skillful Ṛbhu,

1. First words of ṚV 9, 87 [799], 1.
2. ṚV 9, 87 [799], 2.

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an Uśanas in magic : he discovered the concealed, hidden, secret name of these cows."[1]

9. How Indra foiled the demons' ascent to Heaven.[2]

Once there were demons named Kālakañjas. They built a fire-altar right up to the heavenly world. Each man placed a brick there in his name. Pretending to be a brāhmaṇa, Indra too placed a brick with the words : "This is mine. It is called wonderful." They ascended up to Heaven. Then Indra pulled out his brick. They all fell down. Those who fell down, became spiders. Two swung themselves upwards. They became the two divine dogs.[3]

10. How Saramā found the cows of the gods.[4]

Once there were Paṇi-demons, as they were called, the cowherds of the gods. They made off with the cows. They put them in folds in a bend of the Rasā river and concealed them by the Vala-mountain. Then the gods said to the carrion-kite : "Beautiful-feathers, find our cows for us !" "Alright !" He flew after them. They were inside a bend of the Rasā river, concealed by the Vala-mountain : so he caught up with them. When he had caught up with them, the demons placed the following before him : ghee, milk, cream cheese and curds. Of this he ate his fill. Then they said to him : "Beautiful-feathers, the same can be your present, your food forever in future. Do not betray us !" He flew back. The gods said to him : "Beautiful-feathers, have you found the cows ?" "Not a word about the cows", he said. "Here is a word about the cows", said

1. ṚV 9, 87 [799], 3.

2. How Indra foiled the demons' ascent to Heaven = Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa 1, 1, 2, 4-6. Parallel version : Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa 2, 1, 2, 13-17.

3. Presumably a constellation.

4. How Saramā found the cows of the gods = Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa 2, 440-442. For the edition used see Note 2 p. 203.

Corrections :

350, 18 : *goṣv evāha kila.*

350, 29 : *ploṣye vā tvā gādhā vā me bhaviṣyasīti.*

350, 30 : *ploṣyamānāsasāra.*

350, 34 : delete the daṇḍa after *devānām.*

350, 36 : *lāpayiṣyadhve ;* this form could also be a causative of the verbal root *lā ādāne* (Pāṇinīya-Dhātupāṭha 2, 49) : "You will not persuade me to accept anything from you !"

350, 36 : *sā hānāśuṣy uvāca ;* see W. Caland, Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Bd. 28, 1914, 69.

351, 1 : I cannot explain how the simple word *jarāyu* has twice been corrupted to *jāru, a vox nihili.*

351, 9 : *yathā manyadhvam.*

351, 11 : *mācalās sārameyāḥ / api ha ...*

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Indra and pressed his throat, "You really have the face of one who has been with cows !" He ejected a drop of curd or cream cheese. That became *bhūmikapaṭhu*[1] which grows in spring. Then Indra cursed him : "You scoundrel, disgusting will be your means of livelihood because you found our cows and did not tell us !" Therefore the means of his livelihood is the worst stuff at the rear end of the trek.

Then the gods said to Saramā : Saramā, find our cows for us !" "Alright !" She ran away after them. She came to the Rasā. This was the Rasā which...[2] downwards to ...[2] of the ocean. Saramā said to her : "Should I swim across you or will you let me wade through you ?" "Swim across me", she said, "I will not let you wade through me !" Then she put her ears back and ran on to swim. Now Rasā reflected : "How could a bitch swim across me ? Well then, I shall let her wade through me !" She said to her : "Do not swim across me. I will let you wade through me !" "Alright !" A ford appeared there. She ran across the ford. She found the cows inside a bend of the Rasā river, concealed by the Vala-mountain : so she caught up with them. When she had caught up with them, the demons similarly placed the same things before her : ghee, milk, cream cheese and curds. She said : "I am not treacherous enough to eat something given by you, after finding the cows of the gods. You are, really, wandering about after having stolen from the gods. I, on the other hand, have found the track of the cows. You cannot deceive me. You will not keep Indra's cows." She remained overnight without eating anything. Then she found an afterbirth, cast away. That she chewed. Then somebody said : "Saramā is chewing the afterbirth as if she wanted to kill it !" That is why even today there is a saying : "Saramā is chewing the afterbirth as if she wanted to kill it." Because at that time she kept chewing the afterbirth. She came back running. The gods said to her : "Saramā, have you found the cows ?" "I have found them", she said, "inside a bend of the Rasā river, concealed by the Vala-mountain. See that you get them as you think best !" Then Indra said to her : "Well then, Saramā, I make your offspring well provided with food because you have found our cows again !" These are the Mācala dogs of the Vidarbha country, descendants of Saramā. They can even kill a tiger.

11. How Agni purged Indra of his crimes against the gods.[3]

All beings scolded Indra on account of the following crimes against the gods : "He has killed the three-headed son of Tvaṣṭṛ, he has delivered the Yatis to the

1. Probably a whitish flowering plant or a whitish mushroom.
2. A few incomprehensible syllables.
3. How Agni purged Indra of his crimes against the gods = Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa 2,

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Sālā-wolves, he has killed the Arurmukhas, he has contradicted Bṛhaspati, breaking a legally valid contract he has cut off the demon Namuci's head." He wandered alone in the wilderness not mixing with the gods. He said to the gods : "Perform a sacrifice for me !" "No", they said, "you have broken these contracts and committed these crimes against the gods. We shall perform no sacrifice for you". Now Agni was, so to speak, his best friend amongst the gods. Therefore he said to Agni : "You perform a sacrifice for me !" "Alright !", he said, "I shall look for somebody amongst the gods together with whom I could perform a sacrifice for you." He found nobody among the gods with whom he could perform a sacrifice for him. He said : "I can find nobody among the gods together with whom I could perform a sacrifice for you". "Then you perform a sacrifice for me alone !" "Alright !" Agni produced this Agniṣṭut-rite out of himself and with it performed a sacrifice for him. Immediately he burnt away his crimes. As a snake discards its skin, as a reed is pulled from its sheath, similarly he became absolutely free from evil. After having repelled the evil, he shines up there as the sun. That truly, is Indra. Whosoever suffers from bad reputation, whosoever is avoided, he should perform this sacrifice. Agni will burn away his evil immediately. As a snake discards its skin, as a reed is pulled from its sheath, similarly he will become completely free from evil.

12. How Indra was fooled by the Aśvins and Dadhyañc.[1]

Dadhyañc Ātharvaṇa, forsooth, knew this brilliant essence, this sacrifice : how this head of the sacrifice is put on again, how this sacrifice becomes complete. He had been warned by Indra : "If you divulge this to anybody, I shall cut off your head for it !" Now the two Aśvins had heard of this : "Dadhyañc Ātharvaṇa, forsooth, knows this brilliant essence, this sacrifice : how this head of the sacrifice is put on again, how this sacrifice becomes complete." They went to him and said : "We wish to become your pupils." "What do you wish to learn?" "This brilliant essence, this sacrifice : how this head of the sacrifice is put on again, how this sacrifice becomes complete." He said : I have been warned by Indra : "If you divulge this to anybody, I shall cut off your head for it !" Therefore I am really afraid that he will cut off my head indeed. I shall not

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134. — Parallel version : Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa, 7, 28. For the edition used see Note 2 p. 203.

Correction :

217, 25 : *yo 'bhyākhyāyeta.*

1. How Indra was fooled by the Aśvins and Dadhyañc = Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa 14, 1, 1, 18-24. Parallel version : Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa 3, 126-127.

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take you as pupils." They said : "We shall save you from this." "How will you save me ?" "If you take us as pupils we shall cut off your head and hide it somewhere else. Then we shall fetch the head of a horse and put it on you. With that you may teach us. When you have taught us, Indra will cut off that head of yours. Then we shall fetch your own head and put it on you again" "Alright !" He took them as pupils. When he had taken them, they cut off his head and hid it somewhere else. Then they fetched the head of a horse and put it on him. With that he taught them. When he had taught them, Indra cut off that head of his. Then they fetched his own head and put it back on him.

13. How Indra saved Prince Rohita's Life.[1]

King Hariścandra Vaidhasa of the Ikṣvāku family had no son. He had a hundred wives. He got no son by them. Once Parvata and Nārada stayed in his house. Then he asked Nārada : "Well, tell me how I may get a son !"[2] He said to him : "Turn to King Varuṇa with the request : 'A son should be born to me : I shall sacrifice him to you !' "Done !" said Hariścandra. He turned to King Varuṇa with the request : "A son should be born to me : I shall sacrifice him to you !" "Done !" said Varuṇa. A son named Rohita was born to him. Varuṇa said to Hariścandra : "Just now a son has been born to you. Sacrifice him to me !" He said : "When an animal is more than ten days old, then he becomes fit for sacrifice. He should be more than ten days old then I shall sacrifice him to you !" "Granted", said Varuṇa. He was more than ten days old. Varuṇa said to Hariścandra : "Just now he has become more than ten days old. Sacrifice him to me !" He said : "When an animal gets his milk-teeth, then he becomes fit for sacrifice. He should get his milk-teeth, then I shall sacrifice him to you !" "Granted", said Varuṇa. He got his milk-teeth. Varuṇa said to Hariścandra : "Just now he has got his milk-teeth. Sacrifice him to me !" He said : "When an animal looses his milk-teeth, then he becomes fit for sacrifice. He should loose his milk-teeth, then I shall sacrifice him to you !" "Granted", said Varuṇa.

He lost his milk teeth. Varuṇa said to Hariścandra : "Just now he has lost his milk teeth. Sacrifice him to me !" He said : "When an animal gets his teeth

1. How Indra saved Prince Rohita's life = Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa 7, 13-15. Parallel version : Śāṅkhyāyana-Śrautasūtra 15, 17, 1-27. See Fr. Weller, Die Legende von Śunaḥśepa im Aitareyabrāhmaṇa und Śāṅkhyāyanaśrautasūtra. Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Philologisch-historische Klasse, Band 102, Heft 2. Berlin 1956.

2. I omit an inapt metrical interpolation.

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for the second time, then he becomes fit for sacrifice. He should get his teeth for the second time, then I shall sacrifice him to you !" "Granted", said Varuṇa.

He got his teeth for the second time. Varuṇa said to Hariścandra : "Just now he has got his teeth for the second time. Sacrifice him to me !" He said : "When a nobleman is capable of wielding arms, then he becomes fit for sacrifice. He should acquire arms, then I shall sacrifice him to you !" "Granted", said Varuṇa.

He acquired arms. Varuṇa said to Hariścandra : "Just now he has acquired arms. Sacrifice him to me !" "Alright", said Hariścandra and addressed his son : "My dear, Varuṇa has presented you to me. Well, I shall sacrifice you to him !" "No", he said, took his bow and went into the wilderness. He wandered in the wilderness for one year. Then Varuṇa seized the descendant of Ikṣvāku[1]. His belly swell with dropsy. Rohita heard this. From the wilderness he went to the village. Indra disguised as a man joined him and said :

> "We have heard, O Rohita, that there are many kinds of prosperity for him who makes efforts. A lazy man is miserable. Indra is truly a friend of the wanderer. Wander on !"

He wandered in the wilderness for a second year thinking : "A brāhmaṇa has told me, wander on !". From the wilderness he went to the village. Indra disguised as a man joined him and said :

> "The legs of the wanderer bear flowers; his body is thriving and fruitful. All his evil remain lying on the way, destroyed by his efforts. Wander on !"

He wandered in the wilderness for a third year thinking : "A brāhmaṇa has told me, wander on !" From the wilderness he went to the village. Indra disguised as a man joined him and said :

> "The luck of the sedentary man sits. The luck of the standing man stands erect. The luck of the lying man lies. The luck of the wandering man wanders on to the goal. Wander on !"

He wandered in the wilderness for a fourth year thinking : "A brāhmaṇa has told me, wander on !" From the wilderness he went to the village. Indra disguised as a man joined him and said :

> "Lying is the worst throw[2]; raising is the next best; standing

1. I. e. Hariścandra.

2. The four throws of the Indian dice game, in the sequence of the text : *kali – dvāpara – tretā – kṛta.*

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erect is the second best; wandering is equal to the best throw. Wander on !"

He wandered in the wilderness for the fifth year thinking : "A brāhmaṇa has told me, wander on !" From the wilderness he went to the village. Indra disguised as a man joined him and said :

The wanderer finds honey. The wanderer finds sweet udumbara fruit.[1] Observe the prosperity of the sun who is never tired of wandering. Wander on !"

He wandered in the wilderness for a sixth year thinking : "A brāhmaṇa has told me, wander on !"

There in the wilderness he met the sage Ajīgarta Sauyavasi[2] who was distressed by hunger. He had three sons : Śunaḥpuccha[3], Śunaḥśepa[4] and Śunolāṅgūla.[5] He said to him : "Sage, I shall give you a hundred cows. I want to buy myself free of Varuṇa with one of your sons." He took the oldest son aside and said : "Not this one !" "And this one neither !" said the mother and took the youngest aside. Ajīgarta and Rohita agreed to trade the middle one, Śunaḥśepa. Rohita gave hundred cows for him and took him along. From the wilderness he went to the village. He came to his father and said : "Father, I want to buy myself free with this one here !" Then Hariścandra turned to King Varuṇa : "I shall sacrifice him to you !" "Granted", said Varuṇa, "A brāhmana is worth more than a nobleman".[6]

14. How Indra brought Upagu Sauśravasa back to life.[7]

Kutsa Aurava, forsooth, was built from Indra's thigh. He was exactly like Indra as if he had been fashioned out of his own self. Indra made him his charioteer.

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1. Ficus glomerata Roxb. The fig is edible but not tasty.
2. An expressive name : 'Starveling'.
3. 'Dog's Cue'.
4. 'Dog's Tail'.
5. 'Dog's Stern'.
6. The genuine part of the story is preserved only this far. It probably ended with Śunaḥśepa's sacrifice by which Rohita was saved.
7. How Indra brought Upagu Sauśravasa back to life = Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa 3, 199-202. Parallel version : Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa 14, 6, 8. For the edition used see Note 2 p. 203 and also W. Caland, Das Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa in Auswahl. Text, Übersetzung, Indices. Verhandelingen der Koniklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam. Afdeeling Letterkunde, Deel 1 — Nieuwe Reeks, Deel XIX, No. 4. Amsterdam 1919.

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Indra caught him with his wife Śacī Paulomī. He said to her : "How could you have done this ?" She said : "I have not been able to differentiate between you two." He said : "I shall make him bald-headed so that you can differentiate !" He made him bald-headed. He put on a turban and lay with her. This is the turban of a charioteer.

Indra once ogain caught him with his wife. He said to her : "How could you have done this ?" She said : "I have not been able to differentiate between you two. Wearing a turban he lay with me." He said : "I shall scatter dust between his shoulders so that you can differentiate !" He scattered dust between his shoulders. This is the dust between the shoulders of a charioteer. He covered the dust with his upper garment and lay with her.

Indra once again caught him with his wife. He said to her : "How could you have done this ?" She said : "I have not been able to differentiate between you two. Covered with the upper garment he lay with me."

Indra chased him away and said : "..... !"[1] Kutsa said : "Maghavan, we do not want to perish. Give us what we can subsist on. We are, after all, born from you !" "Then shake off the dust from your shoulders !" He shook it off. Thence a great race arose : the Rajas and the Rajīyas, as they are called. Kutsa became their king. His chief priest was Upagu Sauśravas. Kutsa said : "Nobody is allowed to perform a sacrifice. Whosoever performs a sacrifice in my kingdom, will be expropriated. The gods eat only what is offered. Not even a leaf must be offered !"

Then Indra went to Upagu Sauśravasa and said : "I want to make you perform a sacrifice." He said : "Here people do not perform sacrifices. If anybody performed a sacrifice, people would expropriate him." Then Indra showed him one heavenly abode after the other and thereby explained : "If anybody performs a sacrifice, he can acquire this or that heavenly abode." Upagu thought : "And if they expropriate me —, well even then I shall perform the sacrifice !" He said to Indra : "Make it possible for me to perform the sacrifice without a helper !" Indra made the sacrifiee possible for him. Sadas- and Havirdhāna-sheds appeared by themselves. Upagu pressed Soma in a mortar. Upagu said to Indra : "Come here without being noticed by Kutsa !" But he

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Corrections :

438, 7. 19 : *kam ayiyaja iti*; see W. Caland, loc. cit. 273, note 8.

438, 13 : *taṃ ha jijyuh;* see W. Caland, loc. cit. 273, Note 9.

438, 31 : *em mathāyā iti = ā. īm mathāyai iti*; see J. Narten, Indo-Iranian Journal vol. 4, 1960, 128, note 22.

1. A few incomprehensible syllables.

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went straight to Kutsa. Kutsa said to him : "Whom have you won to perform a sacrifice ?" "Upagu !" "Then expropriate Upagu !" They expropriated him. Indra went to him a second even a third time and said : "I want to make you perform a sacrifice !" He said : "Here people do not perform sacrifices. If anybody performed a sacrifice, people would expropriate him. Twice I have performed a sacrifice and people have actually expropriated me." Indra once again showed him one heavenly abode after the other and thereby explained : "If anybody performs a sacrifice, he can acquire this or that heavenly abode". Upagu thought : "And if they expropriate me —, well, even then I shall perform the sacrifice !" He said to Indra : "Make it possible for me to perform the sacrifice without a helper !" Indra made the sacrifice possible for him. Sadas- and Havirdhāna-sheds appeared by themselves. Upagu pressed Soma in a mortar. Upagu said to Indra : "Go away from here after the sacrifice so that Kutsa does not see you !" But he went straight to Kutsa. Kutsa said to him : "Whom have you won to perform a sacrifice ?" "Upagu !" Then Kutsa got up himself, cut Upagu to pieces and scattered them in water.

Now Suśravas Sthaurāyaṇa, his father, came to know this : "Kutsa Aurava has really cut my son to pieces and scattered them in water !" He came to him running and said : "Where did you hide my son ?" "He lies there scattered in water !" Suśravas went after him down to the water and found him. Indra, transformed into a *rohita*–fish drank out Soma from Upagu's cut off head. Suśravas thought : "This is, surely, Indra. I shall praise him. He saw this melody. He sang the hymn in this same melody :

> "Just now the Stronglipped One drank from the Juice of One who was clever and willing to sacrifice, — Indra drank from the drink which was mixed with barley !"[1]

Indra said to him : "Wishing what do you praise me ?" "Bring my son back to life !", said Suśravas. Indra pulled him out of the water saying : "Here I pull you out !" He brought him back to life.

15. How Indra helped Kṣatra Prātardana in the Battle of the Ten Kings.[2]

In the Battle of the Ten Kings, ten kings oppressed Kṣatra Prātardana near

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1. ṚV 8, 92 [701], 4.

2. How Indra helped Kṣatra Prātardana in the Battle of the Ten Kings = Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa 3, 245–248. Compare Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa 15, 3, 7. For the edition used see Note 2 p. 203 and compare also W. Caland's work mentioned in Note 7 p. 215.

Corrections :

457, 6 : *jayāma* as in 457, 26 and 458, 22.

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Mānuṣa[1]. His chief priest was Bharadvāja. He applied to him for help: "Sage, we want to apply to you for help. Find out a saving device for us!" Then Bharadvāja wished: "We want to win the battle!" He saw this melody. He sang the hymn in this melody. After he had sung the hymn, he said: "Indra will certainly come to our call. We will certainly win the battle."

Now Upamā Sāvedasī, a wife of Kṣatra Prātardana, was beautiful. The enemies killed her brother. There was a lamentation for the dead. While Upamā Sāvedasī was running around[2] during the lamentation, Indra cast an eye on her. He put on a dried antelope skin and approached her. A basket of wheat bread was tied on one end of the carrying rod which he was carrying, and cream cheese mixed with ghee on the other. He began to make gestures in her vicinity. While he was making gestures in her vicinity, he also smeared her with ghee. As she warded him off, he made further gestures in her vicinity. Evening came. The fighting hosts separated. Upamā's husband asked her: "Have you perhaps seen something remarkable during the day?" She said: "Nothing more than this! Rather an old man made gestures in my vicinity. A basket of wheat bread was tied on one end of the carrying rod which he was carrying, and cream cheese mixed with ghee on the other. (While he was making gestures in my vicinity, he also smeared me with ghee.) When I warded him off, he made further gestures in my vicinity." Kṣatrah Prātardana said: "Indra has actually come on our call. We will certainly win the battle. It was definitely Indra. Don't annoy him. When you have made friends with him, you should say to him: 'We want to win the battle!'"

457, 15 : *vivadhe 'pūpa°*, see W. Caland, loc. cit. 284.

457, 16 : *saṃyutetarārdhe / ... / tāṃ ha sma nṛtyan sarpiṣā pralimpati.*

457, 20 : *saṃyutetarārdhe /* After this one expects : *sa mā nṛtyan sarpiṣā prālipat / taṃ yad apāsaitsam atha me 'ntikam evānartīd iti.* Compare 457, 16 and see K. Hoffmann, Indo-Iranian Journal vol. 4, 1960, 27.

457, 28 : *yat prepsaty* (see W. Caland, loc. cit. 285) *atha he smetaraḥ parastarām eva nṛtyati.*

457, 30 : I am unable to restore the original wording of the following dialogue, but the following at least seems to be certain :—

458, 2 : *cet putrakāsati; asati* = 3. sg. subj. praes. act. of the verbal root *as* 'to be'.

458, 4 : *dhāvatād anu°.*

458, 6 : *cet putrakāsati,* as in 458, 2.

458, 23 : *yathā imā amūr diśo vyupāpatanti bhāsvatiḥ / bhāsvatīḥ = uṣāsaḥ !* Cf. ṚV 1, 92, 7; 1, 113, 4.

1. Name of a locality.
2. Perhaps but scantily clad and agitated.

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When the morning came, the enemies streamed on anew around Kṣatra's camp. Indra, with the same carrying rod, began to make gestures a little away from her. When she tried to reach him, he made his gestures somewhat further away from her. Then she thought : "Well, I shall speak to him !" ...[1] She ran after him and said : "We want to win the battle !" He struck on his antelope skin and said :

> "As the Shining Ones[2] disperse in this and that direction, similarly, you enemies of Kṣatra should disperse away from Mānuṣa !"

Thus he spoke and scattered the hairs of the antelope skin. They turned into chariots with horses in harness. With them Kṣatra Prātardana won the battle.

16. How Indra cured Apālā Ātreyī[3]

Apālā Ātreyī was pimpled or perhaps itchy. She wished : "I want to get rid of my ugly skin !" She saw this melody. She sang a hymn in this melody. As she went down to a ford, she found a Soma stalk. She chewed it. Then her teeth sounded like pressing stones. Indra came running : "It sounds like pressing stones !" She recited :

> "A girl who went down to the water found Soma on the way. While she carried him home, she said : 'I shall press you out for Indra, I shall press you out for the Mighty One'.[4]

When Indra noticed : "It is her teeth only which make a noise like pressing stones", he turned away from her. Then she said to him :

> "Young man, you who are going there so attentively from house to house, drink this which is pressed out with the teeth and which is accompanied by fried grain, porridge, cake and a hymn !"[5]

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1. The following metrical dialogue is so mutilated that it remains incomprehensible to me.

2. I. e. the rays of the dawn.

3. How Indra cured Apālā Ātreyī = Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa 1, 220-221. Parallel version : Śāṭyāyana-Brāhmaṇa; see B. Ghosh, Collection of the fragments of lost Brāhmaṇas, Calcutta 1947, 57-60.

For the edition used see Note 2 p. 203.

Corrections :

90, 3 : *tilakā vāruśchavir vāpy āsa.*

90, 5 : *avindat.*

90, 10 : *imaṃ jambha°.*

90, 13 : *purā mā sarcarcāpālā = purā mā sā ṛcā-ṛcā apālā.*

4. ṚV 8, 91 [700], 1.

5. ṚV 8, 91 [700], 2.

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As she was taken no notice of, she said to him further :

"Dont we want to become acquainted with you and inspite of this do we not fail you ?"[1]

Indra turned back towards her thinking : "Apālā here has been praising me for quite some time with one *ṛk*–stanza after the other."

"Little softly, a little more softly flow down, You Juice, for Indra !"[2]

With these words he sucked Soma from her mouth. It truly becomes like a Soma drink for him who knows this when he kisses a woman's mouth.

He said to her : "Apālā, what is your wish ?" She said :

"Make these three surfaces sprout, Indra : The head and the corn-field of my father and this here on my belly ![3] Make all this become hairy !"[4]

Her father was bald. Indra made him non-bald. His corn-field bore nothing. It bore fruit now. There were no hair on her belly. They grew now. He pulled her through the nave-hole of a chariot. Then she became an iguana. He pulled her through the nave-hole of a wheel-cart. Then she became a chameleon. He pulled her through a yoke-hole. Then she became a *saṃśliṣṭikā*[5]. The following *ṛk*–stanza is remembered about this :

"You Indra, rich in advice, have cleaned Apālā thrice : once in the nave-hole of a chariot, once in the nave-hole of a wheel-cart and once in the yoke-hole and have given her sun-like skin !"[6]

The best looks became her looks.

17. How Indra saved Manu's wife from death.[7]

Manu, forsooth, had clay dishes. All the demons whom he covered with these, perished. Now in those days Triṣṭa and Varutri were two magicians of the demons. The demons said to them : "Ask for these clay dishes of Manu !"

They both got up early and arrived there saying : "For Vāyu, O Agni ! For Vāyu, O Indra !"[8] Manu said : "What do you want ?" "Give us these clay

1. ṚV 8, 91 [700], 3ab.
2. ṚV 8, 91 [700], 3cd.
3. ṚV 8, 91 [700], 5.
4. ṚV 8, 91 [700], 6d.
5. An unidentifyable animal, probably a reptile.
6. ṚV 8, 91 [700], 7.
7. How Indra saved Manu's wife from death = Kāṭhaka-Saṃhitā 30, 1. Parallel version : Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa 1, 1, 4, 14–16.
8. Perhaps the beginning of a sacrificial litany.

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dishes !" He gave them to them. They took them into the wilderness and crushed them. Manu's cows were grazing there. One bull licked at the potsherds. When he roared, all the demons who heard it, perished.

They both got up early and arrived there saying : "For Vāyu, O Agni ! For Vāyu, O Indra !"[1] Manu said : "What do you want ?" "We two would like to perform a sacrifice for you with this bull !" Then Manu's wife began to speak, reciting the sacrificial formula. She raised her voice to the clear sky. When she spoke, all the demons who heard her, perished. That is why a woman speaks more pleasantly at night.

They both got up early and arrived there saying : "For Vāyu, O Agni ! For Vāyu, O Indra !"[2] Manu said : "What do you want ?" "We two would like to perform a sacrifice for you with your wife !" The fire had already been taken round her[3] when Indra noticed : "Triṣṭa and Varutri, the two magicians of the demons are depriving pious Manu of his wife." He came there. He said : "I want to perform a sacrifice for you with these two." "No", said Manu, "I have no control over them". "Most certainly, the host has control over the guest", said Indra. Then he gave him both of them. Indra arranged a place of sacrifice and sat there. Both of them asked : "Who are you ?" "A brāhmana !" "A brāhmaṇa from which family ?"

> "What do you mean by asking about the father and the mother of a brāhmaṇa ? If his knowledge is worthy of appreciation it stands him instead of his father and his grand-father !"

Both of them realized : "This is Indra". They ran away. He poured their holy water after them and cut off their heads with it. They became *vṛṣa* and *yavāṣa*.[4] That is why they dry up in the rainy season, because they were smitten with water. Indra released her, round whom fire had already been taken. Manu throve with her. The people today are Manu's offspring.

18. How Indra taught Bharadvāja.[5]

Bharadvāja had been studying for three full life-times. When he lay there decrepit and old, Indra went to him and said : "Bharadvāja, if I were to grant you a fourth life-time, how would you use it ?" "I would use it to study", he said. Indra showed him three strange objects that looked like mountains. From each of them he took one fist-full. Addressing him, he said : "Bharad-

1. Perhaps the beginning of a sacrificial litany.
2. See 1.
3. This is done for lustration before the sacrificial animal is slaughtered.
4. Plants of vermin which waste away in the rainy season.
5. How Indra taught Bharadvāja = Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa 3, 10, 11, 3-5.

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vāja, these are the Vedas. Endless, forsooth, are the Vedas. In three full life-times you have learned only this much : the rest you have not yet learned. Come on, learn this fire-altar, for this is the Sum of Wisdom !" He taught him this Sāvitra Agni. When he had learned it, he became immortal and went to the world of heaven, to the communion with the Sun.

19. How Indra taught Pratardana Daivodāsi.[1]

Pratardana Daivodāsi, forsooth, by fighting and courage reached Indra's beloved homestead. Then Indra said to him : "Pratardana, choose a boon !" Then said Pratardana : "Choose you the boon for me, the one you think is most useful for a man." Then Indra said to him: "One does not choose for the other. You choose yourself !" "This is then no real boon for me", said Pratardana. "Then, verily, Indra did not depart from his true promise, for Indra is truth." Then Indra said to him : "Know m e ! This, I think, is most useful for a man, that he knows m e. I slew the three-headed son of Tvaṣṭṛ, I slew the Aruṅmukhas, I delivered the Yatis to the Sālā-wolves; breaking many contracts I smashed the Prahlādīyas in the sky, the Paulomas in the middle region, and the Kālakañjas on earth. And yet in all this I did not lose a single hair. He who knows m e, loses by no deed even a single hair : neither by stealing, nor by killing an embryo, nor by the murder of his mother, nor by the murder of his father. Even if he commits any imaginable crime, the colour of confidence does not depart from his face."

20. How Indra transformed himself into a ram.[2]

The brāhmaṇas of Vibhinduka once held a sacrificial session with Medhātithi as the Gṛhapati.[3] Dṛdhacyut Āgasti was their Udgātṛ, Gaurīviti was the Prastotṛ, Acyutacyut was the Pratihartṛ, Vasukṣaya was the Hotṛ, Sanaka Kāvya

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1. How Indra taught Pratardana Daivodāsi = Śāṅkhāyana-Āraṇyaka 5, 1. See A. Frenz, Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad, Indo-Iranian Journal vol. 11, 1969, 79-129, especially 94-95, and 116.

2. How Indra transformed himself into a ram = Jaiminīya-Brāhmaṇa 3, 234-235. Compare Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa 15, 10, 11. For the edition used see Note 2 p. 203.

Corrections :

451, 35 : Delete *āptvā* as a mere gloss to explain *ṛddhvā*.

452, 12 : *gavalikam iva.*

452, 13 : *sevete paśvājāne hi.*

452, 14 : *akṛt* is a queer form but reoccurs in 96, 26; 137, 28; 138, 13; 290, 34; 388, 22; 434, 34. See H. Oertel, The syntax of cases in the narrative and descriptive prose of the Brāhmaṇas. I. The disjunct use of cases. Heidelberg 1926, 60.

3. The head of a group of priests who in their own interest perform a sacrifice.

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and Navaka Kāvya were the two Adhvaryus. Medhātithi wished for cattle. Sanaka and Navaka wished for wives. The others wished for what they wanted. In those days people used to hold sacrificial sessions with different wishes and used to get up individually as soon as their wishes were fulfilled. Having transformed himself into a ram of Medhātithi, Indra drank up their Soma. They used to drive him away, thinking: "Medhātithi's ram is drinking our Soma." He, however, drank their Soma each time after returning to his original shape. That is why even today people call him to the sacrifice with the Subrahmaṇyā formula: "Ram of Medhātithi!" Medhātithi who had wished for cattle saw this melody. He sang the hymn in the same melody. He broke the Vala-mountain with the words: "Breaker of castles, clever young man!"[1] He opened the cave with the *ṛk*-stanza: "You armed with a stone, opened the Vala-cave rich in cattle!"[2] Herds of animals were let loose. Those who were let loose first, are the cattle of today. Then followed golden-horned cows who had two udders. Then followed two celestial damsels dressed in two golden petticoats. The Gṛhapati cast an eye on them. He said: "Both of them belong to me because I acquired them during my office as Gṛhapati." "No", said Sanaka and Navaka, "you took part in the session with the desire for cattle. We took part in the session with the desire for wives. These two women here belong to us." While they were still conversing, Medhātithi made advances to one of them. She pushed him back. She became that gazelle whose horns look like small buffalo-horns. The other, however, was perplexed. She became the small yellow gazelle. That is why both these join the herds of cattle, because their origin is the same as that of the cattle. The golden-horned cows with two udders returned to where they had come from, thinking: "The Gṛhapati has committed an injustice. We, forsooth, do not stay with him who does injustice." Having turned into Maina-birds they even today announce the same thing in shrill sounds.

1. ṚV 1, 11, 4a.
2. ṚV 1, 11, 5ab.

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ECONOMIC SCIENCE AND GANDHI'S CHALLENGE TO ECONOMISTS[1]

BY

H. C. RIEGER (Heidelberg)

"That economics is untrue which ignores or disregards moral values."–M. K. Gandhi.

At a recent meeting of economists in Banaras, a discussant complained that a paper presented by a member of the Gandhian Institute of Studies did not contain any specific "Gandhian" policy recommendations. When asked to say in concrete terms what, in his mind, should be included, he said : "It's not what *I* want to have included — I don't believe in Gandhian economics myself — but I think a Gandhian economist should have taken a more Gandhian approach."

I have related this anecdote because it symbolises in caricature form a line of thinking that is widespread among economists in India. One apparently cannot be both a good uptodate economist *and* a Gandhian. Nevertheless one feels a need for the tradition of Gandhian economic thought to be preserved and continued, under glass, as it were, in some dustfree museum corner, acting as a reminder of a glorious episode of Indian history and as a proud contribution to the World in the field of economic philosophy. In this vein, "serious" economists pause in their work for a moment to run through the ritual of a Gandhi Seminar and to quote the wisdom and praise the sagacity of the Mahatma in wellworded contributions to Gandhi Memorial Numbers of otherwise down-to-earth journals, and then return to the more realistic problems of day-to-day economics or the intellectually more fascinating realms of modern economic theory.

The person who was probably most vehemently opposed to this kind of personality cult was Gandhi himself.

In this paper I intend to confront Gandhi's statement quoted at the beginning with the concept of economics as a science, and to show how hopelessly incompatible they are. I will formulate with an attempt at rigour the interpretation that must be given to the term "economics" to make the statement tenable, and will try to show on the basis of the distinctions thus made the challenges to economists emanating from this interpretation.

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1. Paper prepared for the Gandhi Centenary Seminar on Gandhi's economic and social ideas, at A. N. Sinha Institute, Patna, 10 to 12 March, 1969.

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I Economic Science

I will start with the term "economic science" that is often used indiscriminately to convey a number of different meanings in different contexts. First let us look schematically at the process with which economic theories about the real world are developed. This process can be divided, at least analytically, into a number of steps[1] as follows (see Figure 1) :

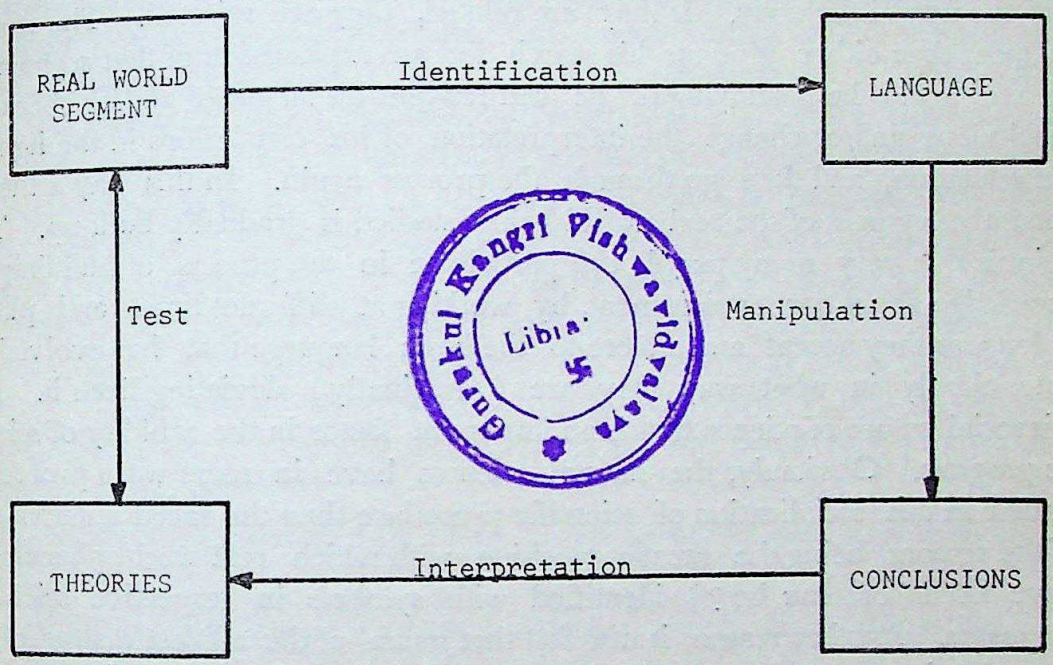

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Figure 1 : Steps in scientific theory building.

One starts out by observing and mapping a segment of the real world that one regards to be relevant or interesting into a language. The term "language" is used very widely here to cover anything from a loose collection of names to a sophisticated mathematical system of symbols and rules for their use. The mapping process consists in identifying or pairing of phenomena existing (or assumed to be existing) in the real world with terms in the language. (Example : An observed phenomenon in reality is identified as "rising price" in the language). In the next step, the terms and symbols of the language thus identified are manipulated according to the rules of the language and

1. A fuller account is to be found in C. H. Coombs, H. Raiffa, R. M. Thrall, "Some views on mathematical models and measurement theory" in R. M, Thrall, C. H. Coombs, R. L. Davis (eds.), *Decision Processes*, London 1960, pp. 19 et seq.

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logical conclusions are drawn. (Example : Price rise is accompanied by a decrease of demand). In the third step the conclusions are interpreted, i.e. the terms in the conclusions as well as their interrelationship are identified with real world phenomena such that "hypotheses", "theories" or "predictions" about the state of the real world result. (Example : If the price rises, there will be a decrease in demand). In the final step, such predictions are compared by observation with the real world, and if they are not refuted they tend to strengthen the assumption that they correctly describe the real world and the way it behaves. If they are refuted, they are rejected. The researcher can then either give up his search for an explanation of that segment of the real world he is studying or he can readjust his language and/or check his conclusions and/or change the interpretation of his conclusions in the light of the refutation, and then go through the process again. In this way a theory about the segment of the real world being studied is gradually built up. The point is that very many people can participate in the process of building up knowledge about our environment, by working at different times and places, as long as they accept and adhere to the basic language that has evolved, or state clearly in what way they are (marginally) deviating from it. It is this social nature of science that is an important factor in the rapidity of scientific progress. Obviously, the natural sciences have in some ways proceeded farther in this socialization of scientific procedure than the social sciences, one of the reasons being the greater precision with which real world phenomena have been (or can be ?) identified with symbols in respective scientific languages. Another reason is the fact that much of the subject matter of the natural sciences can be described by deterministic models, while in the social sciences recourse must be taken to probabilistic ones. In addition, the scope for experimentation is greater in physical than in social systems.

I will use the term "economic science" here to describe the process of generating predictions about the behaviour of a particular aspect and a particular segment of the real world, called the "economic aspect" and the "economy" respectively, in the manner described above. I do not intend to add to the many excellent and fairly congruent delineations of the part of the real world which is the domain of economic science. It is sufficient to indicate here that the "economic aspect" of the real world deals with the widespread phenomenon of allocating scarce resources to competing ends and with the decision procedures involved, while the "economy" is roughly congruent with the set of phenomena connected with the production, distribution and consumption of goods and services for the fulfilment of human wants.

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Now, it is important to note that, due to the social nature of the scientific procedure pointed to above, it is possible for individual scientists to contribute at isolated points of the circular process described in Figure 1, i.e. to concentrate on only one or two of the steps involved. Thus, much work is being done on the development of the language of economic science and on the building of models and the drawing of conclusions from them without any systematic observation of the real world's behaviour. Many will say, and have said, that this model building, divorced from reality as it is, is a pretty futile endeavour, since arguments built on the models can only logically transform what we put into them in terms of assumptions, and consequently cannot tell us anything new. In the context of a socialized science, however, this kind of work may achieve great usefulness if other scientists operating closer to reality can make use of it. This is the case in econometrics, where the job of mapping reality into the linguistic structure of a model is undertaken, possibly by someone who would never have conceived of this model himself. In other words, while the model builder concerns himself with the two right-hand boxes in Figure 1, the econometrician is concerned with using such models as machines for generating theories and predictions about the real world. Essentially, he is trying to connect the input side of the machine with the real world, so that information about observable phenomena is fed into it and comes out as a prediction of the real world's behaviour.

There are some important things to notice about science understood in this way :

1. *It cannot generate value judgments.* In other words, if a statement of the type "this particular aspect of the world is good" comes out at the end of scientific research, one can be certain that a valuation implying this has slipped into the argument at some place in the process. Of course, one can use the methods of science to deduce one value judgment from another with the help of theories about the behaviour of the real world, but no new value judgments of what is good or bad or useful or just can be generated with scientific procedure alone.

2. *It cannot generate normative statements.* Normative statements are prescriptions of what one ought to do or how one should behave in certain situations. Of course, statements of the kind "If you want A to happen, do B" or "If you think C is good, do D" can result, but these are not normative statements in the strict sense. The first is merely a conditional prediction "If you do B, A will result", and the second is the result of combining the (non-scientific) value judgment "C is good" with the (scientific) prediction "If you do D, C will result."

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3. *Science says nothing on the importance of value judgments.* There is no implication in anything that has been said till now that value judgments are unimportant. (In fact, it does not even follow that value judgments are unscientific, but merely non–scientific, which is quite a different thing.) A recapitulation of the scientific process of generating predictions about the behaviour of the real world shows that value judgments are necessary at each stage of the process. First a segment of the real world is selected as being "relevant" or "interesting" or "important." Secondly, a language is chosen as being "suitable" or "appropriate." Thirdly, from the large number of possible conclusions that can often be generated by the manipulation of a model, a few only are selected as "interesting" insights into the world's behaviour. All these selections and decisions are based on (meta-scientific) value judgments and underline the "art" that is frequently required of a scientist in doing scientific research. However, all this does not detract from the statement we have made in 1.[1]

4. *Scientific statements are "true" if they depict or predict the behaviour of the real world correctly.* Thus "truth" is defined by the observation "'*A*' is true if *A* is the case" where '*A*' refers to the statement and *A* to a phenomenon of the real world. There are some scientific statements that are also "true" in a sense, but do not predict the behaviour of the real world at all. Thus, the statement "The price elasticity of demand is less than one if total revenue decreases when the price falls" follows directly from the definitions of the terms "elasticity", "revenue", "price" etc. used. Statements of this type, which are formal logical conclusions from the assumptions and definitions made, are called "tautologies". Since tautological statements are always true, no matter what the state of the real world is, they do not tell us anything about the real world at all.

5. *The test of "truth" in science is made by appealing to the facts.* There is no other way of deciding on the truth of scientific statements than to test their reliability in predicting behaviour. This is what makes science and scientific progress independent of the personality or authority of the scientist making the statements.

We can conclude at this stage that the following statement by M. K. Gandhi is incorrect if applied to economic science : "That economics is untrue which ignores or disregards moral values".

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1. Notice that Myrdal seems to have confused statements 1 and 3 in his Prologue to *Asian Drama.*

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II Gandhi's Concept of "Economics"

Now, we would be making life too easy for ourselves as economists if we were to stop at this point and put Gandhi back under the glass cover in the museum corner until the next centenary comes along. His statement makes it quite clear that "economics" is something entirely different in his view, from economic science. Does this mean that to follow Gandhian thinking one would have to give up the ideal of scientific research in economics ? If the answer is yes, then it is our duty as economic scientists to say so clearly and to reject Gandhi's statement once and for all. But I think it is no. I think that the relevance of what he is saying does not lie in delineating a choice between scientific methods and Gandhism, but in drawing our attention to the very much larger field of "economics", of which economic science is only a part. I will now try to systematize this wider concept of "Economics" (in what follows spelled with a capital "E") in a simple way and hope that the simplicity of the scheme is not bought at too high a price in terms of realism. The basis for our classification will be the type of statement that each sub-department of "Economics" generates. The reader is referred to Figure 2 in which the interrelationships are summarised graphically.

Next to the intellectual activity generating predictive statements about the behaviour of the real world we have the body of thought generating statements of what *ought* to be, i.e. of valuations of different actual or potential states of the world. As pointed out earlier, the impossibility of generating such statements scientifically in no way detracts from the important and decisive role they play in Economics. Generally, economists relegate the whole field of what I would like to characterise here as "economic philosophy" to a place outside economics proper, e.g. to "politics" or "metaphysics" and I admit that I have frequently done so myself in the past. But there can be no doubt that economic philosophy can usually be derived from central and basic norms or assumptions about the purpose of human existence, and it is obviously a worthwhile and important intellectual pursuit to attempt the systematization of such relationships. I am extremely indebted to Professor Arne Naess of Oslo University for this insight. One possible systematization of Gandhian metaphysics can be derived from the basic norm "Seek complete self-realization" together with a number of simple hypotheses. This systematization is as follows, where *N* signifies a norm and *H* an hypothesis :

N1 Seek complete self-realization.
H1 Complete self-realization involves seeking truth.
N2 Seek truth (from *N1* and *H1*).

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H2 All living beings are ultimately one.
H3 Violence against yourself precludes realizing yourself.
H4 Violence against any living being is violence against yourself (from *H2*)
H5 Violence by anybody against any living being precludes complete self-realization of anybody (from *H3* and *H4*).
N3 Act so as to reduce and eliminate violence (from *N1* and *H5*).
H6 Your complete self-realization involves that of others (from *H2* or *H5*).
N4 Act so as to help others in their quest for self-realization (from *N1* and *H6*).
N5 Act so as to help others in their quest for self-realization (from *N1*, *H6* and *H1*).[1]

It is easy to see from this systematization the principles with which it is capable of being extended and further specified into the realms of economic policy-making proper by the addition of further hypotheses. But the more specific this norm-system becomes, the more detailed must be the hypotheses of the way in which the real world is constructed. In other words, the more practical the philosophy becomes in prescribing behaviour in given situations, the greater is its reliance on accurate data on the state of the real world. Thus, both economic science and economic philosophy are equally important constituents of Economics in the Gandhian sense.

The importance of the value aspect is enhanced when we consider the field of economic policy making. Of course, it is possible to write theories of economic policy in a value-free way by leaving the values "empty", i.e. as variables or parameters that can be specified by the policy-maker, and there is no doubt that such theories have their uses. But since values have to enter at some stage (since, clearly, otherwise economic policy measures would be superfluous) it is often sensible to cut out fruitless speculation on possible value orientations by explicitly introducing value premises (either as assumptions or as subjective valuations) into the argument. In fact, this is what many theories of economic policy do, although the level of explicity of the value premises often leaves something to be desired. On the basis of the foregoing we will assign to "economic policy" a separate and important place in Economics. It might be useful to distinguish "political economy" from "economic policy" here, and we are indicating this by a double box in the diagram, but it is not

1. Lecture delivered by Arne Naess at the Gandhian Institute of Studies, Varanasi, February 1969.

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necessary to pursue the distinction in detail here. Whereas political economy is concerned more with the design of economic systems that are both realisable and capable of fulfilling the norms of economic philosophy to a significant extent, economic policy deals with policy measures to be taken vis-a-vis the real world in order to realise the policy goals to the greatest extent possible in the given economic system.

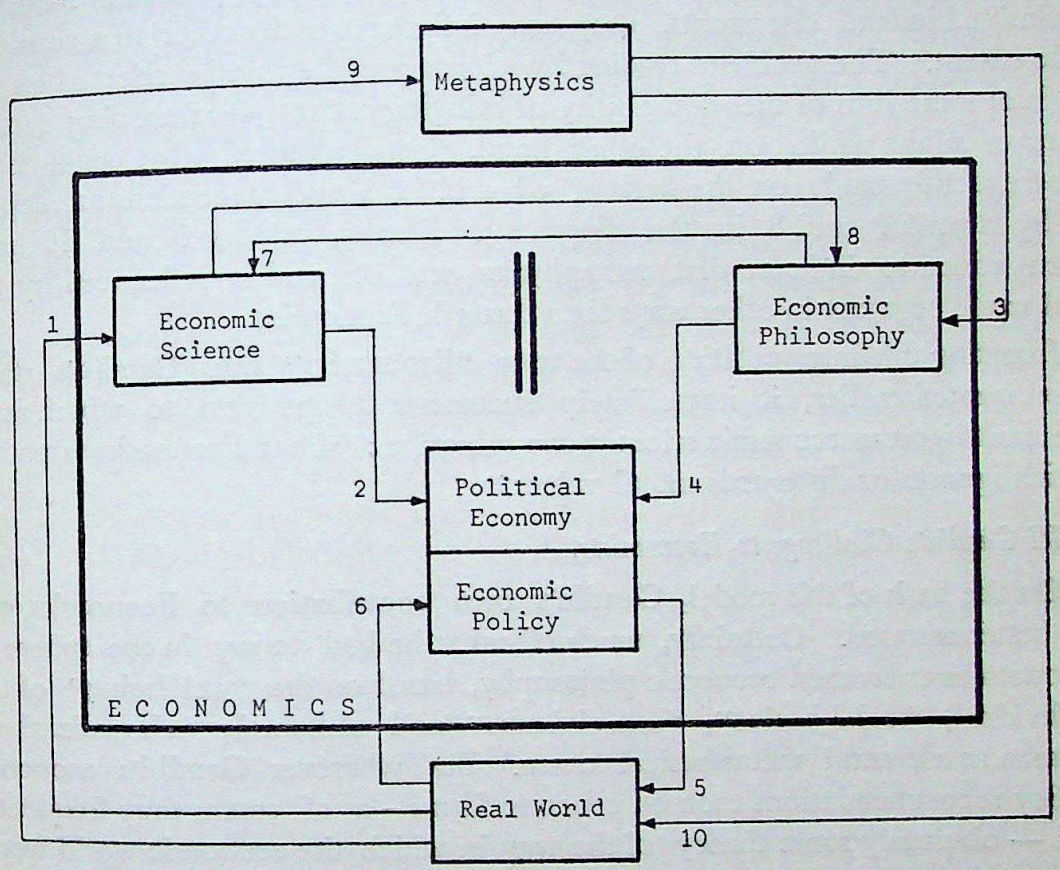

Figure 2 : Schematic representation of the Gandhian view of economics

We are now in a position to present the simplified but more or less complete picture of Economics as shown in Figure 2. The large box called "Economics" contains three main components, economic science, economic philosophy, and economic policy (including political economy). By observing the real world segment called "economy" and / or "economic aspect" (information flow 1), economic science generates predictive statements about the way in which the real world behaves (flow 2). Economic philosophy, drawing on basic metaphysical norms (flow 3), generates statements of how the real world segment of Economics *ought* to be organised (flow 4). Economic policy, by combining the statements of what is and what ought to be,

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generates measures to influence the real world (flow 5). (The arrow No. 6 has been added to indicate the feed-back nature of economic policy measures. Whereas statements of how the world behaves are generated by science, those on the state in which the world finds itself at present are frequently observed directly by policy-makers themselves).

Although economic science and economic philosophy generate mutually exclusive kinds of statements, they may influence each other to a considerable extent. The problems studied by science are frequently selected on the basis of some idea of the desirability of bringing about or removing certain states of affairs while, on the other hand, formulations of what ought to be are frequently made on the basis of what is. (These connections are depicted by arrows 7 and 8 in the diagram). Finally, arrows 9 and 10 have been added to indicate that metaphysics acts on and is influenced by the real world segment in other ways than through Economics.

Inserting this interpretation of the term "Economics" into Gandhi's statement quoted earlier, it immediately becomes a proposition to which even the most rigorous economic scientist can subscribe : "That Economics is untrue which ignores or disregards moral values."

III Gandhi's Challenge to Economists.

On the basis of this model, Gandhi's own contribution to Economics can be better assessed. Certainly, much of what he had to say in the sphere of Economics concerned economic philosophy, based on the "well-being" of the individual, "social justice", "non-violence" and ultimately "self-realization" of man as a central metaphysical norm. But wherever Gandhi's economic policy recommendations took on concrete forms – as of course they frequently did — obviously some theory of the way in which the economic world works was needed. It is to Amritananda Das of Calcutta that we owe an excellent description of Gandhi's analysis of how the colonial economy functions.[1] He is one of the few authors who have taken the trouble or been able to separate Gandhi's implicit statements of *what is* from his ideas of *what should be.* He has shown that Gandhi's predictive statements on the functioning of under-developed economies constitute " a brilliant analytical insight that has even now been only inadequately absorbed into the Western analysis of the colonial economic situation".

1. Amritananda Das, A Reintroduction to Gandhian Economic Thinking, A lecture delivered before the Calcutta Centre of the Indian Council for Cultural Freedom, 1969.

See also Amritananda Das, "On the scientific reinterpretation of Gandhian economics", *Interdiscipline*, Vol. 7, No. 2, 1970, pp. 108–129.

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This does not mean that one has to follow Gandhi's policy recommendations at all, since these emanate from a combination of economic analysis with economic philosophy, and one may not necessarily accept the position taken in the latter. However, the present tendency seems to be exactly the opposite: lip service to his moral philosophy and a rejection of his analysis of reality. One may hope that the occasion of the Gandhi Centenary Year will have moved more economists of the "scientist" category to take Gandhi seriously in their own field. But Gandhi's challenge to economists lies deeper. He has shown and demonstrated the multidimensional character of the Economist's role in society. Each individual has many roles to play — as a citizen of his state, a member of society or as father of a family. But as an economist too, his roles are manifold, and I think that the recognition of this fact will help to clear up many fruitless controversies on what an economist should or should not say in given situations. On the one hand, the role of the economic scientist requires rigorous analysis, adherence to fact and a search for scientific truth. As one who knows how the economy works and who has gained experience in the results obtained by alternative situations, he has an additional responsibility as an economic philosopher to help in formulating the society's economic goals. Finally, he is called upon to formulate concrete measures to the best of his ability in order to bring society nearer to these goals. These, then, are the roles of the Economist with a capital E. He cannot afford to hide behind the mantle of scientific respectability and leave the design of the future to "unscientific" philosophers, who do not know the rules of the scientific game.

Many of us will be unable to accept this challenge and will return to the more comfortable and less risky pursuit of building models in our hermetically sealed private studies. But before we do, we should pause for a moment to realise that one man tried and succeeded to play all the roles implied by boxes of Figure 2 — metaphysics, economic science, economic philosophy, economic policy — and many more besides. Though he is no more, his challenge to economists remains as an uncomfortable reminder of their duty to society.

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THE SIMILES OF THE ENTRUSTED FIVE RICE-GRAINS AND THEIR PARALLELS[1]

BY

GUSTAV ROTH (Göttingen)

1. The seventh chapter of the sixth Anga in the Jaina Śvetāmbara Siddhānta, called Nāyā-dhammakakāo, composed in Ardhamāgadhī Prākṛt, invites us to stay in Rāyagiha, in the Subhūmibhāga-garden : Here we become acquainted with the rich merchant Dhana, his wife Bhaddā, his four sons Dhanapāle, Dhanadeve, Dhanagove and Dhanarakkhiye, and with his four daughters-in-law Ujjhiyā, Bhogavaiyā, Rakkhaiyā, and Rohiṇiyā. The names of the father and the four sons are already indicative of their qualifications as successful merchants. The daughters-in-law who play an exclusively dominant role in connection with the similes of the five rice-grains carry names which are particularly characteristic by indicating the substantially different behaviour of each of them. The four sons, mentioned above, completely vanish in the further walk of our narration. The father's thoughts are entirely occupied with his four daughters-in-law in regard to the question of who would be able to guard and take care of the family's property in case he had gone away. In order to find out who of his daughters-in-law would be reliable and in which way, he hands over five unbroken rice-grains *(panca sāli-akkhae)* to each one with the order to guard and to hand them back whenever he demands them.

2. Ujjhiyā, true to her name, threw the five rice-grains away after having received them thinking by herself that there are so many sacks full of rice-grains in the granary of her father-in-law *(tāyāṇaṁ koṭṭhāgāraṁsi bahave pallā sālīṇaṁ padipuṇṇā ciṭṭhaṁti)* so that she could easily help herself when he would demand the five rice-grains back. The second daughter-in-law Bhogavaiyā thinks in the same way, only that she eats all the five rice-grains by herself, as suggested by the meaning of her name.

3. In contrast with the behaviour of the two previous ones, Rakkhaiyā in true concordance with her name, kept the five rice-grains in a jewel-casket wrapped in a clean piece of cloth, and kept them under her pillow guarding

1. A summary of this article held at the meeting of the Rotary-Club, Patna, in the presence of His Excellency the Governor of Bihar, Shri Nityanand Kanungo, was published in "The Searchlight", a Patna newspaper, dated 6. 10. 1970.

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it throughout the day (*te panca sāli-akkhae suddhe-vatthe bandhai rayaṇa-karaṁḍiyāe pakkhivai ūsīsāmūle thāvei ... tisaṁjhaṁ paḍijāgaramāṇī ... viharai*).

4. Rohiṇī, the fourth daughter-in-law, however, calls the servants of the household (*kula-ghara-purise*) to take the five unbroken rice-grains which she had received from her father-in-law giving the order to plant and to rear them in the soil. At the advent of the rainy season the household servants sewed the five unbroken rice-grains and reared them up yielding a good crop. The household servants did the same at the advent of the next rainy season and further on every year up to the fifth rainy season having yielded a crop of hundreds of earthen-pitchers.

5. In the fifth year, the merchant Dhana decided to return home in order to see how his daughters-in-law dealt with the five rice-grains he had handed over to them.

First he calls Ujjhiyā. She goes to the granary of her father-in-law, takes five rice-grains from there and boldly produces them before him. Dhana, however, asks her upon oath if these five rice-grains are the same as given by him, or different ones. She finally confesses that she had thrown away these rice-grains. Hearing this, Dhana became furious and ordered her to do the lowest type of household work like removing ashes. cowdung, cleaning and scrubbing the floor, offering water to bathe the feet of guests, and to go on errands outside the house.

The moral conclusion drawn from this narration reads : "Even so, o longlived monk, the monk or the nun among us ... upto ... who have gone forth and by whom these very Five Great Vows have been abandoned are to be blamed in this world already by many monks etc. ... upto will roam about in the worldly existence, like this Ujjhiyā.

Similarly, the case of Bhogavaiyā runs who has consumed the five rice-grains, with the only difference that she is posted to do all the necessary household work related to preparing, serving, and distributing food, as well as services within the kitchen and going on errands.

The moral conclusions are practically the same as in the previous case.

6. Rakkhaiyā on her turn, however, goes to her bed chamber, opens the box, and takes the five rice-grains out of the jewel-casket, and hands them over to the merchant. Asked by him if these be the ones he gave her she declares that she wrapped the five rice-grains in a clean piece of cloth (*suddhe vatthe*) guarding them. Hearing this, Dhana is very pleased, and appoints Rakkhaiyā as a storekeeper of the values and belongings of the family.

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The moral conclusion drawn reads : Even so, o longlived monk, ... upto by whom these very Five Great Vows[1] are kept, he is to be respected in this world already among many monks etc ... upto ..., like this Rakkhaiyā.

7. Rohiṇī, the fourth daughter-in-law, demands many cars and vehicles in order to return the multiplied five rice-grains to her father-in-law. He gives her many vehicles of transport. After having loaded them full, she moves through Rāyagiha to the merchant's house where the people hail the fortunate Dhana *(dhanne ... Dhane)* who receives the cars fully loaded with rice-grains in return for the five rice-grains which he handed over to Rohiṇī. Very pleased, Dhana appointed Rohiṇī in the presence of friends and the family as an authoritative guidance which is to be consulted in many duties and private affairs of the family.

The moral conclusion drawn in this connection reads : Even so, o long-living monk, ... upto by whom these Five Great Vows have been furthered, he is to be respected even in this birth among the monks and nuns ... upto he crosses the ocean of worldly existence, like that Rohiṇī.

By this, the narration including the similes of the five unbroken rice-grains has come to its end. These similes which are still very popular among the Jains of to-day, apparently were also kept in high esteem, in more ancient times, as we can conclude from the 14 Āryā-stanzas of the Prākṛt-bhāṣā included at the end of Śrī Abhayadevasūri's Sanskrit Commentary. In these stanzas, the comparative identifications are given which connect the actions of the daughters-in-law with the religious duties of a monk centered round the Five Great Vows which are identified with the five rice-grains.

Even to-day, the Five Great Vows are represented by five little heaps of rice-grains, in a pūjā performed in front of a Tīrthankara-image. Srī Umāsvāti's fundamental Sūtra *Samyag-Darśana-Jñāna-Cāritrāṇi mokṣa-mārgaḥ,* at the beginning of his Tattvārthasūtra is also symbolized by three little hills of rice-grains, a crescent-shaped design on top of it *(mokṣa)*, and below the three hills of rice-grains the Swastika symbol, representing the four wrong ways *(durgati)* which are overcome by the holy triad, all designs to be drawn by rice-grains !

8. The similes of the five rice-grains contain furthermore interesting details regarding vocabulary and literary motifs which call the attention of parallels to be noted inside and outside the Indian field of literature.

1. *Pañca maha-vvayāiṁ.* They refer to avoiding to do harm to life *(pāṇāivāyaṁ)*, falsehood *(musā-vāyaṁ)*, to take what not has been given *(adinnādāṇaṁ)*, copulation *(mehuṇaṁ)*, to collect fortunes *(pariggahaṁ)*. They are dealt with in Āyāre II. 15, followed by five reflections *(bhāvaṇā)* each, in the Suttāgame edition I. p. 94–99.

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When Rohiṇī hands the five unbroken rice-grains *(panca sāli-akkhae)* to her household servants in Suttāgame I, p. 1007. 16, she addresses them politely as *tubbhe ṇaṁ devāṇuppiyā* ("dear to the gods") reminding us of the term *devānāṁ priyo piyadasi rājā* of the Girnar Aśoka-inscriptions in which way emperor Aśoka refers to himself. Addressing people of lower position also in this polite manner is frequently to be observed in the Jaina Canon. In the Mallī-Nāya, the eighth chapter of the sixth Anga, for instance, household-servants *(koḍumbīya-purise)* are called *evaṁ khalu devāṇuppiyā* in Suttāgame I, p. 1022. 15–16, *Bho devāṇuppiyā*, the guild of the gold–smith (*suvaṇṇagāra-seṇī*) are called by the king in Suttāgame I, p. 1022. 19 and *tubbhe ṇaṁ devāṇuppiyā* in Suttāgame I, p. 1023. 13. The same courteous approach is observed with reference to the guild of the painters *(cittagāra-seṇī)* in Suttāgame I, p. 1024. 20–21, while a king or a prince is addressed *evaṁ khalu sāmī* in Suttāgame I, p. 1023. 4, 19.

For further references see Sutt. I. p. 1024. 4, 7; p. 1025. 21, 22, 23; p. 1026. 2, 7, 9, 13.

In Sutt. I. p. 1026, only the female recluse Cokkhā *(Cokkhā parivvaiyā)* addresses princess Mallī as *devāṇuppie*, and later on in Sutt. I. p. 1027. 29 king Jiyasattū as *tumaṁ devāṇuppiyā*.

These passages clearly show that in ancient India, particularly in Māgadha, not only kings and people of higher rank were courteously approached by the address of *devānāṁ priyo* or *devāṇuppiyā*, but also household-servants and craftsmen.

9. Towards Māgadha we are also drawn in the Rohiṇī-passage in Suttāgame I, p. 1008. 2 where we learn that out of the five rice-grains, a crop of the weight of a Māgadha Prastha of pure season's yielded, unbroken, not split ... rice-grains was harvested (*cokkhāṇaṁ sūiyāṇaṁ akhaṁḍāṇaṁ aphuḍiyāṇaṁ ... sālīṇaṁ māgahae patthae jāe*).

The Rohiṇī-passage also includes more interesting terms which refer to rice breeding techniques. In Suttāgame I, p. 1007. 22–29, we read that at the beginning of the rainy season the household-servants sow the five unbroken rice-grains on a small well-prepared bed *(... khuḍḍāgaṁ keyāraṁ su-parikammaṁ karenti ... te panca sāli-akkhae vāvanti)*. Twice and threetimes they transplant the seedlings *(doccaṁ pi taccaṁ pi ukkhaya-nihae karenti)*, they enclose the field by a bund *(vāḍi-parikkhevaṁ karenti)*. The rice-plants reared in this way, become deep blue *(sāli jāyā kiṇhā kiṇhobhāsa)*, then they become endowed with leaves, round stems, with young cornfruit, shoots, fragrance, milky juice, and compact corn-fruit; they become mature and fully accomplished, they get

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spear-shaped leaves, they have green joints and subdivided stems *(tae naṃ te sāli pattiyā vattiyā gabbhiyā pasūiyā āgaya-gandhā khīrāiyā baddha-phalā pakkā pariyāgayā sallaiyā pattaiyā hariya-pavva-kaṇḍā jāyā yāvi hotthā).*

By this passage, the process of maturity of the rice plant is referred to.

10. Apart from the interesting details regarding social aspects and the art of rice breeding, the similes of the five rice-grains call attention from the point of view of literature. We have learned that the merchant Dhana entrusted the five rice-grains to his daughters-in-law in order to find out their reliability. He did not give them to his four sons who are mentioned at the beginning of the story. For Dhana, the family's property and prosperity largely depends on the efficiency and the trustworthiness of the ladies in the house. That women are involved in our story is easily to be understood by the subject-matter of the rice-grains itself which falls under the household activities of women.

In another parable of a similar motif handed down in the Jaina Uttarādhyayana-sūtra (abbr. : Utt.) VII. 14–21, we read the following stanzas (śloka) :

jahā ya tinni vaṇiyā, mūlaṁ ghettūṇa niggayā /
ego 'ttha lahaī lābhaṁ, ego mūleṇa āgao // 14 //
ego mūlaṁ pi hārittā, āgao tattha vāṇio /
vavahāre uvamā esā, evaṁ dhamme viyāṇaha // 15 //

"As three merchants have gone abroad taking their stock-capital with them, one of them gained profit, the other one came home with his stock-capital without profit // 14 //. The third merchant came home after having lost his very stock-capital. This is a parable referring to business, in the same way know it with regard to the "Dhamma" // 15 //.

In stanza (śloka) 16, the terms *mūla* and *lābha* are specified :

māṇusattaṁ bhave mūlaṁ, lābho deva-gaī bhave /
mūla-ccheeṇa jīvāṇaṁ, naraga-tirikkhattaṇaṁ dhuvaṁ //

"The stock-capital is the state of a human being, the profit is the gain of becoming a god. On account of the loss of the stock-capital, one becomes a resident of hell or an animal."

The simile of the stock-capital and its profit is continued in stanza 19 :

evaṁ jiyaṁ sapehāe, tuliyā bālaṁ ca paṁḍiyaṁ /
mūliyaṁ te pavesanti, māṇusiṁ joṇim enti ye //

"Thus considering what has been forfeited, one should weigh the ignorant and the wise man. Those who just bring the stock-capital in (without any profit) are (like) those who come into the existence of a human being."

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The parable continues and concludes with stanza (śloka) 21 :

jesiṁ tu viulā sikkhā, mūliyaṁ te aicchiyā /
sīlavantā savīsesā, adīṇā janti devayaṁ //

"Those who have exceeded their stock-capital (are to be compared) to those who are of abundant virtues. The virtuous, excellent people, high-spirited become gods."

Charpentier (305) refers to the commentator Devendra "who tells a story of a rich merchant who had three sons : in order to get to know their characters he gave each one of them a large sum of money, and sent them out to trade. They behaved exactly like the three men mentioned in the text."

11. An interesting parallel which can be traced in the Hebrew Gospel[1], portions of which have been quoted in the Theophania of Eusebius (bishop of Caesarea since 313 A.D.), has been mentioned by G. A. van den Bergh van Eysinga (62–63). According to this passage, there are three servants. One of them multiplies the capital of his master, the second keeps and hides it (without making profit), and the third one consumes the capital of his master with courtezans and female flute-players. The first servant finds appreciation, the second is blamed, and the third is thrown into jail.

12. This version of the Hebrew Gospel is apparently more original than the versions handed down in Matthew 25. 14–30, and Luke 19. 12–27 of the New Testament, to which attention has been drawn by E. Leumann, W. Huettemann, H. Jacobi, and R. Garbe, with regard to literary connections with the similes of the five rice-grains.

Matthew 25. 14–30 relates of a man who goes abroad, putting his capital in the hands of his servants : "to one he gave five bags of gold, to another two, to another one, each according to his capacity." The first man employed his five bags in business, and made a profit of five bags, the second a profit of two, the third, however, dug a hole in the ground, hiding his master's one bag of gold. When the master returned, the man who had been given five bags of gold returned five bags more, the second two bags, while the third one only returned the bag he had received. Both the first and the second servant are praised and rewarded accordingly, while the third servant is blamed.

13. In Luke 19. 11–27 a parallel version of this parable is handed down. Here a man of noble birth goes abroad to become a king. Before leaving he calls

1. The Hebrew Gospel was the very Gospel of the Jewish Christians. It does not exist anymore, and is only known from fragmentary quotations of historians of the Christian church.

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his ten servants, and gives them a pound each, saying, "Trade with this while I am away." His fellow-citizens do not want to have him as their king. He is apprised of it through a delegation sent to him. He, however, returned as a king, and sent for his servants, to see what profit each had made. The first servant informed him, that his pound had made ten more, the second told his pound had made five more. Accordingly the first is rewarded by being put in charge of ten cities, the second being posted over five cities. The parable continues : The third came and said, "Here is your pound, sir; I kept it put away in a piece of cloth (in Greek : soudarío). I was afraid of you, because you are a hard man : you draw out what you never put in and reap what you did not sow." "You rascal !" he replied; "I will judge you by your own words. ... Then why did you not put my money on deposit, and I would have claimed it with interest when I came back ?" Turning to his attendants he said, "Take the pound from him and give it to the man with ten." But, sir," they replied, "he has ten already", "I tell you", he went on, "the man who has will always be given more; but the man who has not will forfeit even what he has. But as for those enemies of mine who did not want me for their king, bring them here and slaughter them in my presence."

This version of the parable discloses itself as a later compilation by the very fact that at the beginning there are ten servants who are entrusted with one pound each. In the further walk of the story, however, only three servants are really involved, a number which we met in the Utt., in the Hebrew Gospel, and in Matthew 25. 14–30. Yet, we will have to return to the Luke passage in the course of this paper.

In the similes of the entrused five rice-grains we saw a merchant and his four daughters-in-law engaged. Here, the entrusted eatable article of rice invited the narrator not only to think of someone who throws the rice-grains away, but also of somebody who consumes them, which suits the context. This way four persons are employed.

14. The following points can be regarded as to be common to both the Indian and Jewish-Christian versions : In all the versions which have been mentioned in this article, the three possibilities of making profit of a stock-capital, or of keeping it without profit, or losing it as a whole, are dealt with. The oldest of the versions referred to in this article appears to be the metrical passage in Uttarrādhyayana VII, 14–21. On account of its rhythmic movement (śloka), this passage can claim a high degree of antiquity for itself belonging to the earlier strata of the Jaina Śvetāmbara Canon which might belong to the end of the fourth and the beginning of the third century B.C. according to H. Jaco-

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bi's investigations[1]. Our passage is embedded in the ancient Uttarajjhāya (Uttarādhyana-sūtra) which is the first book in the Mūlasutta-section of the Jaina Śvetāmbara Canon.

Apart from metrical considerations, the simplicity of the content under discussion also speaks in favour of its high antiquity : there is a merchant who increases the wealth of his capital, another one who just keeps his stock-capital without adding to it, and finally the third merchant who loses his stock-capital. These are practically the three basic possibilities open to everyone to increase, or just to maintain what one has, or to waste one's fortune.

All the other versions quoted in this article : Devendra's commentary on Utt. VII. 14–21, our similes of the five rice-grains, the passage in the Hebrew Gospel, and the references in Matthew 25. 14–30, Luke 19. 12–27 of the New Testament correspond to each other in the point that someone entrusts something to others in order to get to know their characters. Out of these we can group the Indian similes of the five rice-grains and the Christian passages of Matthew 25. 14–30 = Luke 19. 12–27 nearer to each other in so far as he who goes abroad takes this opportunity to test the reliability and efficiency of those under him in dealing with entrusted articles. This way we can distinguish an older tradition represented by Utt. VII. 14–21, the story mentioned in the commentary of it, and the parallel passage of the Hebrew Gospel (see § 10, 11), and a younger one represented by the Indian similes of the five rice-grains (see § 1–9) and the Christian parallels of Matthew 25. 14–30 = Luke 19. 12–27 (see § 12–13).

15. On the other hand, we also have to take note of the features which are fundamentally different in the Indian and the Jewish-Christian traditions. The most striking distinction between the two lies in the following point : In all the Indian sources, as far as available, the person who just keeps the entrusted articles without increasing them is neither blamed nor punished. Thus, Rakkhaiyā who kept the entrusted five rice-grains in a clean piece of cloth till demanded back from her, is even rewarded for doing so by her father-in-law who appoints her as a storekeeper in the house (see § 6). In the Hebrew Gospel we find the servant who just kept the capital without making profit, blamed by his master. In the Christian passages of Matthew 25. 26–30 = Luke 19. 22–27, the servant who just handed over the entrusted pound he had received, is not only blamed but also punished. In Luke 19. 24, this point is very distinctly underlined by the attendants of the king who do not understand why the one pound is taken from the man who kept it and given to the man with ten (see § 13).

1. Sacred Books of the East 22, p. XXXIX f.; Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft 38, p. 590–619, Indische Studien 17, p. 13 f.

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In the Indian versions of Utt. VII. 14–21, the similes of the five rice-grains, and in the Hebrew Gospel, we find the three types of persons who increase, or keep, or lose the basic articles. In Matthew 25. 20–24 = Luke 19. 16–21, there are also three persons on the scene with the notable difference, however, that the first servant and the second win profit from the entrusted capital — the first one makes more profit, the second less —, and it is the third servant who just keeps the entrusted good, while the person who loses or wastes it, is entirely dropped. This clearly indicates that the Matthew-Luke passages have to be taken for younger ones against the passages of the Indian Uttarādhyayana, the Hebrew Gospel, and the Indian similes of the five rice-grains. Here, just in diametrical contrast with Matthew-Luke, the person who is careless about the entrusted good is divided into two : Ujjhiyā who throws the five entrusted rice-grains away, and Bhogavaiyā who consumes them.

16. Thus, we are more and more drawn towards comparing the Indian version of the entrusted five rice-grains and the Christian parable of the entrusted pound which both share the common chronological position of being the younger versions in comparison with the Indian Utt. passage on the one hand, and the Hebrew Gospel on the other.

A literary interrelation between the two passages is likely for the following reasons : Luke 19. 20 offers a particular detail which also occurs in one of the similes of the five rice-grains. Here we learned that Rakkhaiyā kept the five rice-grains wrapped in a clean piece of cloth *(suddhe vatthe)* in Suttāgame I. p. 1007. 11, 1009. 22–23.

In Luke 19. 20, we read that the third servant kept the entrusted pound in a piece of cloth for wiping the sweat (Greek : soudarío), without making any profit. From the point of sound one cannot miss that the Prākṛt expression *suddhe vatthe* = Sanskrit *śuddhe vastre* shares the initial sound with the Greek *soudarion* = Latin *sudarium*, without having any etymological connection[1]. Thus, the Indian term might have called upon association with Greek-Latin in those who came in contact with the Indian version.

Since the discovery of the bilingual Aśoka-inscription in Greek and Aramaeic language in Kandahar (now in Afghanistan), there can be no doubt about how close Indians, Iranians and Greek were at the time of emperor Aśoka (3rd cent. B.C.), and later on.

That we will have to see in the Indian similes of the entrusted five rice-grains a version older than the one handed down in Matthew-Luke is suggested by

1. The Latin verb *sud-are* = English to *sweat* = German *schwitzen*, is related to the Sanskrit verbal root *svid*, and the Sanskrit noun *sveda*.

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the fact that the Indian version maintains consistency regarding the rural aspect in keeping and rearing the entrusted corn-fruit. This is not the case in the version of Matthew-Luke. Here in a quite abrupt manner a rural aspect enters the scene when the servant who keeps the entrusted pound without making any profit is addressed by his master : "You knew that I reap where I have not sown and gather where I have not scattered (Matthew 25. 26); and, "You knew, did you, that I am a hard man, that I draw out what I never put in, and reap what I did not sow ?" (Luke 19. 22). This is very much characteristic of the behaviour of a landlord who keeps others tilling the land while the profit flows into his pockets demanding no efforts from his side. Huettemann (9) already aptly noted that these Matthew-Luke passages are suggestive of an older rural version.

The subject matter under discussion has shown that the Indian narration of the similes of the entrusted five rice-grains has its own characteristic features and is consistent in itself, though it is supposed to be of a younger date than the version in the Uttarādhyayana-sūtra referred to above, where instead of rice-grains, a stock-capital bearing profit, its maintenance without profit, and its loss are referred to. In this way a common subject is treated by different contents. Garbe's remark (43, n. 1) that the similes of the entrusted five rice-grains were a milk-and-water-styled derivative (verwaesserter Ableger) of the Utt. passage, has no base.

The study under discussion has also shown that Indian literature is more and more to be seen in the context of world-literature, disclosing universal interrelations in this field.

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IMPEDIMENTS TO 'DEVELOPMENT FROM BELOW' IN INDIA'S ECONOMIC HISTORY

BY

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Introduction : Thresholds and Constraints

Economic development freqently comes up against thresholds which impede the smooth curve of economic growth. These thresholds are constituted by various constraints which coincide so as to create a more or less insurmountable obstacle. The constraints may be physical, technological or institutional ones. Their combination will have a cumulative effect and in many cases it will be difficult to recognize the dominant constraint. Thus thresholds created by a lack of resources or physical and technological handicaps may be wrongly interpreted as originating from social and cultural constraints or vice versa. 'Crossing a threshold' means overcoming the constraints constituting it. This may be achieved either by adjusting economic activities below the threshold so that the cumulative effect of the respective constraints is reduced or eliminated or by reaching across the threshold from beyond its confines. The first approach can be termed 'Development from Below', the second one means 'Development from Above'. Usually economic development will be fostered by a combination of both approaches. In fact, development planning would ideally aim at an adjustment of economic activities below the given threshold so as to fit in with remedial measures above the threshold — thus building the bridge from both sides. But the identification of impediments to 'Development from Below' should precede any attempt at development planning.

In many countries agriculture is the most crucial element of economic 'Development from Below' because it must provide the base for all further develop-

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* Some of the conditions for development from below which have been considered in this paper were first outlined by Ludwig Y. Oppenheimer in two articles in the journal *Offene Welt* : 'Grundbedingungen für den Beginn wirtschaftlicher Entwicklung', *Offene Welt* (1963), p. 262ff., and 'Dynamik von unten—ein kritischer Aspekt der Entwicklungshilfe', *Offene Welt* (1963), p. 553ff. The author wishes to thank Robert Crane, Michael Lipton and Hans-Christoph Rieger for detailed comments on an earlier draft of this paper which have greatly helped him in revising it.

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ment. Agricultural operations are subject to many physical, technological and institutional constraints which may arrest the agriculturist at the level of mere survival. If he reaches the aim of comfortable self-sufficiency he may nevertheless not want to participate in wider economic activities by parting with a major share of his crop unless he is forced to do so or is sure of the benefit which he will derive from this participation. The money economy may encompass only a limited number of people and the distribution of income may be so uneven that most people do not have a chance of crossing the threshold of paralysing poverty. Technological innovations which could transform many activities may require an investment which is beyond the means of those who could use the new tools. Investment and technological know-how will have a tendency to combine and establish an enclave economy, thus defying social control and integration. The political development will reflect rather than transform these economic trends and it is, therefore, the very opposite of developmental politics which would imply a conscious reduction of constraints so as to facilitate the crossing of the thresholds. The attitude towards developmental politics is deeply related to the social order and the value system. The more obvious phenomena, such as caste, may be less important in this context than the underlying assumptions of human inequality and the insignificance of human endeavour. 'Development from Below' means human mobilization which will inevitably give rise to social conflict as people cross thresholds and compete for resources.

The problems confronting 'Development from Below' have been outlined very briefly in this introduction in order to indicate the relations between various constraints. In the following pages these problems will be discussed in detail.

1. *Survival Agriculture, the Land System, and the Appropriation of Surplus*

Economists usually refer to agricultural activities which are not integrated in the money economy as 'subsistence agriculture'. Actually in many countries the majority of small cultivators are eking out a living at a sub-subsistence level. Their operations are determined by severe constraints of survival agriculture. The survival agriculturist's main concern is to avoid risks.[1] He cannot think in terms of profit. He may make use of his family labour much beyond the so-called 'marginal productivity of labour'. The land he cultivates would usually yield more if it were in the hands of a richer peasant who could afford to grow the most profitable crop. The survival agriculturist, however, must think in

1. Michael Lipton, 'Urban bias and agricultural planning', in Paul Streeten and Michael Lipton, (eds.), *The Crisis of Indian Planning*, London, 1968.

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terms of an adverse combination of the constraints under which he operates. He depends on rainfall, on draught animals, on the members of his family, on credit and on the land system. He may wish to sink a well, but he may not get the credit for it. He may want to expand or contract cultivation according to the availability of family labour but the land system will not permit this. Thus he is kept in his place by the cumulative effect of constraints and cannot cross the threshold towards comfortable self-sufficiency. At least about one acre of rice land per adult member of the family in the rice economy of Eastern India or two acres in the millet economy of the Western Deccan and Rajasthan are required for 'subsistence', all those who have less than that must work for others in addition to working on their own land. Overpopulation has greatly depressed Indian agriculture. Recent field research in Orissa has shown that only 14 per cent of the peasant families could rely on rice supply from their own land throughout the year,[1] all others would have to be termed survival agriculturists. But those who are just below the threshold of all year round self-sufficiency may be able to cross it if some of the constraints under which they operate were slightly reduced.

In addition to the physical constraints of rainfall and the quality of the soil Indian agriculture has been most seriously affected by the rigidity of the land system. Various factors in India's economic history have combined to 'lock up' the land.[2] Originally land was not a commodity which could be bought or sold in India. It belonged to him who first cleared it. It was inherited and also subdivided, there were practices of a limited transfer in terms of a kind of usufructuary mortgage, but in general there was always enough land at the disposal of the village community for further settlement. Feudal landgrants either conferred a right for establishing a new settlement or gave a share of the charges on settled land, though they never established property rights in the modern sense of the term. Feudal revenue assignees may have used harsh methods in order to collect their revenue, but they had to take care not to drive away the peasants as they would then lose their revenue.[3] For the most part the villages paid their revenue assessment jointly. The village community controlled the

1. K. H. Junghans, 'Wirtschaftliche Struktur- und Funktionsanalyse der Landwirtschaftlichen Betriebe', *Yearbook of the South Asia Institute of Heildelberg University* (1967/68), Wiesbaden, 1968, p. 144ff.

2. The term 'lock up' (Bodensperre) has been taken from the work of Franz Oppenheimer, *Theorie der reinen und politischen Ökonomie, Zweiter Halbband : Die Gesellschaftswirtschaft*, Jena, 1924, p. 395ff., 406, 757ff.

3. Irfan Habib, 'Evidence for Sixteenth Century agrarian conditions in the Guru Granth Sahib', *Indian Economic and Social History Review (IESHR)* (1964), p. 64ff.

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surrounding waste land and frequently rented it to outsiders, who may have been either migrant latecomers joining an existing village in search of land and protection, or peasants from neighbouring villages who looked for some additional land which they could cultivate as long as they had the means to do so. Cultivation usually depended on the family labour and as the family expanded or contracted the peasant would want to expand or contract cultivation. The universal system of 'insider' and 'outsider' peasants enabled the village community to make use of the available land with some degree of flexibility while nevertheless paying its revenue regularly.[1]

There were, of course, also villages in which most of the agricultural work was done by hired or bonded labourers, particularly if the landholders themselves would not touch the plough because of caste rules.[2] However genuine landlords did not exist; they were created only by the British when they took over the indigenous revenue system and added to it their own concept of landed property. They redefined Indian agrarian relations in terms of the relation between landlord and tenant and converted former revenue assignees into landlords. Frequently older customs of tribes and village communities had been superseded by feudalization, a.g. the headman becoming a feudal retainer with a service tenure; such relations were interpreted under British rule as contracts concerning private real estate.

The Mogul predecessors of the British had applied the uniform term "zamindar" to all kinds of feudal or tribal leaders in order to simplify their administrative procedure. The British completed this task by making the zamindar a landlord whose property could be sold if he failed to pay the revenue. Their harsh assessment forced many landholders to borrow money and to mortgage their land, and British law encouraged landtransfers and the foreclosure of mortgages. Land became a favourite object of litigation. Due to the peculiar British practice of conveyancing and the lack of a system of public transfer based on a cadastral record of rights, titles were secure only for those who had a long purse and could afford the better lawyer. British officers had spent much time and effort on the preparation of revenue records, but these were useful only for the collection of rent and revenue, and in many provinces the revenue authorities openly stated that they were not interested in the constant

1. For the dichotomy khudkasht—pahikasht, mirasdar—upri etc. see Dietmar Rothermund, 'Die historische Analyse des Bodenrechts als eine Grundlage für das Verständnis gegenwärtiger Agrarstrukturprobleme, dargestellt am Beispiel Indiens', *Yearbook of the South Asia Institute of Heidelberg University* (1966), Wiesbaden, 1967, p. 149ff.

2. Benedicte Hjejle, 'Slavery and agricultural bondage in South India in the nineteenth century', *The Scandinavian Economic History Review* (1967), p. 83.

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variations of ownership but only in the identification of the 'piece of land for which revenue had to be assessed. [1]

Increasing population pressure made land a more and more valuable commodity. The village community lost all control over the land in those areas where the village remained the unit of revenue assessment. Agrarian relations corresponded more and more to the landlord and tenant pattern which the British rulers had set for India. When the administrators got alarmed because of a growing indebtedness and land transfers or because of strained relations between landlords and tenants they tried to prohibit land alienation and enacted legislation to protect tenants against eviction and an undue enhancement of rent. But they made no attempts at a land reform. [2] The system which emerged from this combination of imposed landlordism, remedial legislation and inadequate protection of small holders and subtenants was perfectly suited to an exploitation of man rather than an improvement of the productivity of the soil. Those who bought control over land simply in order to squeeze some rent out of those who had to eke out a living on this land were encouraged and protected by this system.

Rents varied greatly, they did not necessarily correspond to market rates. Several stages of transition from charges in kind to a cash rent could be observed in India in the course of the nineteenth century. A report on Oudh in Northern India gives an interesting account of these different stages : The first stage is the traditional sharing of produce according to some fixed proportion. This may be done by a division of the produce after the harvest or in terms of an estimate of the standing crop. In this case there will be no increase of the rent as the profit of the landlord rises with the rising prices. Under the impact of the money economy and the cultivation of cash crops (sugar cane, tobacco, poppy) both landlord and tenant are eager to settle for a cash rent. The second stage is marked by an application of these cash rates to the respective land whether a cash crop is grown on it or not. At the same time the conventional share of the grain produce is commuted into conditional cash rents which are revised whenever the land has to remain fallow or does not yield a crop. The third stage consists of an agreement on an overall money rent for the entire holding of the tenant fixed for one year with an understanding that either the landlord or the tenant may ask for a return to the old produce share.

1. Dietmar Rothermund, 'Die historische Analyse des Bodenrechts ...' loc. cit. p. 158f.; also C.K. Meek, *Land Law and Custom in the Colonies* (second ed.), London, 1968, p. 272ff.

2. Dietmar Rothermund, 'The Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885 and its influence on legislation in other provinces', *Bengal Past and Present* (1967), p. 90ff.

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But finally the fourth stage of an absolute money rent is reached and it is only at that stage that arguments about the enhancement of rent will appear.[1] Exactly the same pattern was observed in Japan.[2] And just like in Japan this meant substantially that tenants were assuming more and more of the risks of agriculture while the landlords became absentee rent receivers.

In India this process did not mean that agriculture advanced to a higher level of productivity. In fact, alarming features of the destruction of the productive capacity of the soil were noticed even at that time. The same report on Oudh which contains the outline of the development of cash rents also gives a dismal account of the vicious circle of population pressure and over-cropping. Due to the increase of population not much land remains fallow, therefore there is less pasture and accordingly less cattle and less manure. The forest has been cut and there is no firewood and cow-dung is used for fuel, thus the available manure is further diminished. The reduction of the pasture also implies that fewer bullocks are available for ploughing and therefore this work is done inefficiently. There is also a great demand for water but irrigation has not been adequately expanded. The peasants have resorted to double cropping. Increasing rents force them to grow the most remunerative crop and they are unable to follow a pattern of crop rotation which would restore the productive capacity of the soil.[3]

Side by side with cash rents share-cropping continued as an important element in agrarian relations. Actually the more oppressive features of share-cropping developed only after the spread of cash rents. As long as the landlord received the rent in kind, everybody 'shared the crop,' but when the tenant paid his rent in cash and got the land cultivated by sharecroppers the position was changed considerably. Sharecropping became a device for paying low wages for agricultural labour and at the same time letting the labourers share the risk of cultivation.

In the Southern part of India where the British had made the revenue settlement with individual peasants (ryotwari settlement) rather than with superior holders or former revenue assignees, sharecropping was less frequent and there were more agricultural labourers. But this proletarization was not a symptom of land consolidation and increasing efficiency in agricultural production. It simply indicated that the land had been 'locked up' and that those who were

1. Govt. of the North Western Provinces and Oudh, *The Condition of the Tenantry in Oudh*, Vol. II, Allahabad, 1883 (Major Erskine's Report), p. 258.
2. Thomas C. Smith, *The Agrarian Origins of Modern Japan*, New York, 1966, p. 157ff.
3. Govt. of the North Western Provinces and Oudh, op cit., Vol. I

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excluded from a share in the land had to work for those who had retained a share.[1] Originally the ryotwari settlementment had been designed so as to give flexibility to the land system. The peasant could expand or contract cultivation according to his needs and he was supposed to pay revenue only for the land which he actually cultivated. But with population pressure this element of flexibility had soon disappeared and nobody thought of surrendering any land. The rigid elements of the system proved to be more durable than the flexible ones.

The land reform in independent India did not break the 'lock' although the political leaders indulged in a great deal of brave talk about 'land to the tiller.' Only the biggest rent-receivers were deprived of their privileges, but they could keep their so called 'home farms' which were often quite substantial. Thus they have lost their quasi-feudal status and have joined the ranks of the agrarian bourgeoisie where they are in the good company of the more substantial of their former tenants. The right of resumption which was granted to landlords so that they could recover a part of their land from their tenants for 'personal cultivation' created much ill will. Subletting of land has been prohibited in most parts of the country but sharecropping continues nevertheless. Flexibility has not been restored, on the contrary, the legislative provisions against subletting have proved to be an obstruction for the dwarf-holder who would lease out all his land while looking for work elsewhere, whereas the more substantial peasant can make use of the lenient interpretation 'personal cultivation'[2] and get his land tilled by others.

The self-sufficient peasant who lives beyond the threshold of survival agriculture has always been the dominant force in the Indian countryside. There is, of course, a considrable degree of elasticity in the concept of self-sufficiency. The survival agriculturist may think that he has achieved it when he and his family have one square meal a day, the more substantial peasant may like to have two. He may also want to increase his leisure by getting his work done by others whom he can afford to feed. For all these reasons he may not wish

1. Surendra Patel, *Essays on Economic Transition*, Bombay, 1965, p. 3ff.; there is a controversy among students of Indian economic history with regard to the rise of a landless class of agricultural labourers (see Dharma Kumar, *Land and Caste in South India—Agricultural Labour in the Mardras Presidency in the Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge. 1968, as well as Morris D. Morris' review of Mrs. Kumar's book, IESHR (1966), p. 185ff., but while it is certainly true that landless labourers existed at earlier stages of Indian history (see also Irfan Habib, 'Evidence...' loc. cit. p. 65) their number must have increased in the 19th and 20th century due to the changes in agrarian relations.

2. Daniel Thorner, *The Agrarian Prospect in India*, Delhi, 1956.

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to part with much of the agricultural surplus which he could otherwise contribute to other sectors of the economy. The surplus can, of course, be appropriated by taxation, or facilities for the deposit of saving may be offered and consumer goods may be produced and marketed in the countryside. The crucial constraints which have impeded the full participation of India's self-sufficient peasants in the money economy have usually been related to communication, transport, education, the supply of goods other than food, marketing and banking. The appropriation of agricultural surplus has always been the central problem of administration in India. There was, of course, the possibility to decentralize administration and to make the officers of the state live off the land, but the more ambitious political systems wanted to support a large central establishment and this could only be done by means of monetization.

2. *Income Distribution and the Money Economy*

Traces of a money economy can be recognized in Indian history for many centuries. But monetization seems to have varied a great deal. Numismatic evidence shows that the currency contracted and expanded, probably indicating changes in the pattern of trade and the modes of revenue collection. During the sixteenth and the seventeenth century India enjoyed a certain amount of economic prosperity. The coastal areas were actively involved in maritime trade. The great Northern plains, the centre of the Moghul empire, were dotted with towns and cities which could have rivaled their counterparts in Europe. Perhaps a higher proportion of the population lived in towns by the end of the seventeeth century as compared to the end of the nineteenth century.[1]

The cash revenue demand of the Moghuls forced the peasantry to participate in the money economy. The merchant who combined graindealing and moneylending emerged as an important figure in India's economic life.[2] However, the money economy remained a marginal aspect of economic life. Many transactions (payment of wages and charges on the land) still consisted of payments in kind rather than in cash. A few big merchants might have been worth millions of Rupees and were able to issue or honour bills of exchange up to the amount of the annual revenue of a province.[3] But the per capita income of the majority of the people was not sufficient for a gainful participation in the money economy. The growth points of manufacturing industries were few and

1. Satish Chandra, 'Some aspects of the growth of a money economy in India during the seventeeth century in IESHR (1966), p. 323.
2. Satish Chandra, 'Some aspects...' loc. cit., p. 327.
3. Ibid., p. 328.

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far between. There was some production of cash crops but no substantial sector of commercial agriculture did emerge at that time. The land revenue policy of the Moghuls did not act as an incentive for commercial agriculture as it was based on purely fiscal considerations, i.e. the charges varied according to investment and yield.[1] However, the government did provide agricultural credit (taccavi) with a view to enhance the revenue paying capacity of the landholders.[2] Beyond this there was little investment in agricultural production. The superior landholders, usually revenue assignees, were not really landlords but had a share in the charges on the land as a compensation for service or in order to maintain themselves and their retainers.[3] As they were not real landlords they could hardly be expected to be 'improving landlords.'

The 'incomes policy' of the government of that time was restricted to a gradation of the emoluments of the higher military and administrative officers, and the revenue policy was framed accordingly. 'Development from Below' was only possible to the extent that the collection of revenue remained imperfect and that certain substantial peasants and village officials managed to keep some of the surplus for themselves. Such people tended to become petty 'feudal' chiefs and a decline of the power of the state meant additional power for them. In this way a wider distribution of income may have been caused by a contraction of the power of the state, but at the same time such a decline was usually accompanied by a decrease in monetization and adverse changes in the pattern of trade. In a somewhat exaggerated way one may express the Indian dilemma thus : either there was a highly inequitable distribution of incomes and an expansion of the money economy or a parochial pattern of the appropriation of surplus accompanied by a contraction of the money economy.

British colonial rule did not help to solve this dilemma but it rather aggravated the problem. The British copied the revenue system of the Moghuls but "improved" upon it by raising the rates of revenue and making its collection far more efficient and inelastic. By insisting on cash payment of the revenue

1. N. A, Siddiqi, 'Land revenue demand under the Mughals', IESHR (1965) p. 373ff.
2. Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India,* London, 1963, pp. 253-255. Unfortunately very little is known about the details of taccavi administration. Actually taccavi loans are granted even at present by the various state governments in India but as the amounts granted are computed according to a certain rate per acre which has not been revised for a long time, the system is now hopelessly out of date and is not of much use to Indian agriculturists, recently land development banks have been entrusted XIth taccavi administration.
3. Irfan Habib, 'The social distribution of landed property in pre-British India', *Third International Economic History Congress,* Munich, 1965.

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they greatly fostered monetization. In the nineteenth century they enhanced the revenue even more because they felt that Ricardo's rent theory justified a total appropriation of the 'unearned increment'.[1] In many areas they wiped out the slightest potential for development from below by their stiff revenue assessments. But they also did not use the revenue for fostering development from above. Nor did they grant any significant amount of taccavi-credit to agriculturists. Applicants for such credit were faced with numerous bureaucratic obstacles. The villagers had to turn to the indigenous moneylenders whose business greatly increased under British rule. These moneylenders and the new class of rentreceivers created by the British formed an influential stratum of Indian society. They oppressed the agriculturists without being able to contribute themselves to development from below. They neither used the capital which came into their hands for making improvements in agriculture nor did they invest their money in industry.

In Japan where a similar agrarian bourgeoisie had emerged there was an improvement of the methods of agricultural production as well as a considerable investment in industry by the end of the nineteenth century.[2] But in India this did not happen. The foreign rulers did not permit any industrialization, and there were no industrial banks which could attract deposits and channel capital into long term investment in industry.[3] Due to the depreciation of the Indian silver currency in the last quarter of the nineteenth century there was a wide gulf between silver and gold capitalism.[4] The indigenous silver capitalist was 'rusticated' and capital for investment in Indian railways etc. was found in the London money market.[5] The 'rusticated' indigenous capital was either hoarded or used for buying control over land without any intention in improving it. Credit was geared to the production of cash crops for the world market rather than of food crops for internal consumption.

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1. Eric Stockes, *The English Utilitarians and India,* Oxford, 1959, p, 81, see also Ravinder Kumar, 'The rise of the rich peasants in western India', in D. A. Low (ed.), *Soundings in Modern South Asian History,* London, 1968, p. 25ff.

2. Thomas C. Smith, op. cit., p. 157ff.

3. G. Findlay Shirras, *Indian Finance and Banking,* London, 1919, p. 392ff.

4. Dietmar Rothemund, 'The Indian silver currency 1876–1893 : A problem in Asian economic history', Paper No. 37, *International Conference on Asian History,* Kuala Lumpur 1968.

5. The term 'rusticated' is derived from M. G. Ranade's reference to the 'rustication' of Indian society; cf. V. S. Minocha, 'Ranade on the agrarian problem', IESHR (1965), p. 359; for the investment of British capital in specific sectors of the Indian economy cf. Arun Bose, 'Foreign capital' in V. B. Singh, (ed.), *Economic History of India, 1857–1956,* Bombny, 1965, p. 492ff.

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Even at a time when recurrent famines caused a constant rise in the price of foodgrain the Indian peasants extended the cultivation of cash crops for the export market although they did not make a greater profit on those crops.[1] The productive capacity of India's agriculture was pre-empted by the credit network geared to the export market. Advances and other means by which the creditors controlled the debtors made it impossible for most peasants to decide on their own what they should grow. This passive and partial exposure to the forces of the world market left its mark on India's economy. The agricultural surplus was flushed out of the country and nothing was left for development from below. Income distribution fell into a pattern which stifled economic development. A small percentage of the rural population managed to derive benefits from the prevailing system by operating the local credit network, participating in grain dealing and in the marketing of cash crops, but the mass of the peasantry was relegated to the ranks of the survival agriculturists.

The negative development of the nineteenth century was not redeemed by any spectaculur event in the twentieth century. Two World Wars were a boon to India's economic development but they did not affect the agricultural base of the economy as much as its industrial sector, whereas the depression between the wars hit the Indian agriculturists badly. Independent India inherited a vast impoverished peasantry. The income distribution in rural India reflects this state of affairs. A rural household survey conducted in 1962[2] revealed that 60 per cent of the rural households were not only unable to accumulate net savings but were in fact 'dissaving'. The higher echelon of those 60 per cent reached an annual income of about Rs. 1000, their households had five members and two of them were earners, the house and implements they owned were worth about Rs. 600. The survey quoted here does not contain information about land holding but it would appear that these 60 per cent own less than 25 per cent of the land available for cultivation and they could be defined as survival agriculturists. If one looks more closely at these 60 per cent one finds that the lower 30 per cent are in the income class from Rs. 360 to 720 per year, their families have less than five members and less than two earners, their houses and implements are worth about Rs. 350 per family, and their 'dissaving' goes on at a much higher rate. These households have not only no potential for development from below but they actually depress the economy and probably destroy the productivity of the soil.

1. G. V. Joshi, *Writing and Speeches*, Poona, 1912, p. 606ff.
2. National Council of Applied Economic Research, *All-India Rural Household Survey*, Vol. II, 1965, pp. 55, 77, 97.

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A look at the upper 40 per cent of rural households shows that about 20 per cent would belong to the category of comfortably self-sufficient peasants. These households have an average annual income of about Rs. 1500. Their houses and implements are worth about Rs. 1000, they can save a small amount. There are about six family members and more than two earners in every household. The households in this category hold probably as much land as the lower 60 per cent together. Only the upper 20 per cent of rural households contain the rich peasants of income groups between Rs. 1800 to Rs. 7200 and above per year. They probably own about half of all cultivable land. The value of their houses and implements approximates that of one annual income, they can save substantial amounts, and there are usually more than two earners in the family. The size of their households indicates that they can afford to support a greater number of family members (about 3 in addition to every earner).

The steep pyramid of income distribution and wealth can be more clearly delineated only if some attention is paid to the top 2 per cent of rural households. These households account for about 25 per cent of all wealth in terms of houses and implements, they probably own around 15 to 20 per cent of all available land and they have an average net income of about Rs. 10,000 per year (1962).

Several studies have shown that in India it is not necessarily the big wealthy farmer who makes the best use of his land but rather the middle peasant who owns less than 25 acres. On the other hand the survival agriculturist also does not make the best use of his land for reasons which have been mentioned earlier. Consequently attempts will have to be made to reduce the holdings of the bigger and enlarge the holdings of the smaller peasants so as to add to the number of middle peasants. At the same time great efforts will have to be made to find alternative employment for a good part of the bottom 30 per cent of poor peasants.

In recent years much has been made of India's 'green revolution'. After the absurd experience of the import of foodgrain into one of the world's greatest agricultural countries the prospect of national self-sufficiency seemed to be almost a miracle and it has been greeted with enthusiasm. But this enthusiasm may be shortlived. Of course, national self-sufficiency may have come to stay, but the income disparities will be accentuated by the 'green revolution', as only the richer peasants can participate in it while the position of the survival agriculturists may deteriorate not only in relative but even in absolute terms. The introduction of high yielding varieties is a technological innovation

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which increases risks and demands more resources and thus widens the gap between the poor and the rich.

3. *Technological Innovation and Social Dependence.*

The resistance to technological innovations has often been explained in terms of cultural constraints. The tradition-bound Indian peasant or artisan is supposed to be unwilling to adopt new methods and even the demonstration effect of a successful implementation of such methods is lost on him. However, the critics usually fail to recognize the threshold which limits the activities of the peasant or artisan.

Those who work at the lower level and are unable to cross the threshold are by no means unaware of the 'demonstration effect' of activities at the higher level, but they know their limits. In fact, they are often afraid of being dominated by those who are beyond the threshold because they realize that any failure in their limited operations may drive them into complete dependence on someone who commands more resources. The many forms of bonded labour and serfdom for which Indian economic history provides a great variety of examples can be explained in these terms.[1] This pattern of dependence mostly crystallized into hereditary relations sanctioned by social and cultural norms of mutual obligations. However, all those who could lead an independent life by carefully minimizing their risks usually tried hard to retain their independence.

The resistance to technological change which has often exasperated observers of India's economic scene is deeply related to this quest for independence. A study of the problem why Indian silk winders rejected the use of new machinery in the nineteenth century, or why cotton growers stuck to their old methods of separating the cotton from the seed rather than adopting the cotton gin, or why Indian iron smelters would not give up their primitive traditional methods reveals that in each case the capital required for the new implements was beyond the reach of the people concerned and the innovation would have demanded a different organization of the whole working process so as to upset the existing pattern of the division of labour.[2] In other words, the people concerned would have had to subject themselves to the direction of an entrepreneur who would control the new means of production. Of course, in the

1. Surendra Patel, op. cit., p. 3ff., Dharma Kumar, op. cit., and Benedicte Hjejle, 'Slavery and agricultural bondage', loc. cit., p. 71ff.

2. Sabyasachi Bhattacharya, 'Cultural and social constraints on technological innovation', IESHR (1966), p. 240ff., and Hitesranjan Sanyal, 'The indigenous iron industry of Birbhum', IESHR (1968), p. 101ff.

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long run the entrepreneur was bound to win anyhow and the small independent operators were crowded out, but they tried their best to carry on by minimizing their risks as long as they could do so. This meant that the prospect for development from below was very dim, indeed, in such cases. It frequently happened that entirely different people took over where others had failed to cross the threshold. Those who possessed traditional skills which should have qualified them for certain occupations were often the least likely candidates for new jobs whereas others whom social and cultural constraints would have prevented from acquiring such skills in the traditional way moved into the field once technological change had provided a different setting. [1]

Limited resources and the quest for independence are not only an impediment to the crossing of the threshold by means of technological or organizational change, they prevent also development within the traditional pattern of agriculture. For example, a dwarf-holder in a rice producing area who does not get enough rice from his fields so as to feed himself and his family from this supply must work for others in order to supplement his income and is, therefore, unable to use the essential period between harvesting and sowing for improving his own rice terrace so as to get a higher yield. He may also not have enough draught animals for the frequent ploughing required for intensive rice cultivation. [2] His agricultural operations which he performs on his own account may therefore be less efficient than those to which he contributes when working for somebody else, but if he can help it he will not give up his own holding and enter permanently into the services of a bigger landowner.

4. *The Triple Economy and Economic Integration*

The impediments to 'Development from Below' do not only beset the agricultural sector and may prevent the adoption of even the simplest technological innovations, they also appear at the higher threshold which separates the activities of trading, moneylending and profitable agriculture from the more intricate business of industrial investment and entrepreneurship. India has an old tradition of moneylending and trading, and Indian economic history provides examples of great organizational skill in this field. [3] But the higher

1. Morris D. Morris, 'Values as an obstacle to economic growth in South Asia : An historical survey', *The Journal of Economic History* (1967), p. 588ff. here especially p. 604f.

2. K. H. Junghans, 'Wirtschaftliche Struktur und Funktionsanalyse...' loc. cit., p. 149.

3. S. Arasaratnam, 'Indian merchants and their trading methods', IESHR (1966), p. 85ff.

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realm of industrial organization and finance remained inaccessible to the Indians at that time when they should have ventured into this field.

India was under British colonial rule when it should have made this transition. This was unfortunate for two reasons. First of all, the British did not want to industrialize India and secondly, the British precedent was unsuitable for India. The German, the Russian or the Japanese pattern of industrial finance and organization would have been a better example for India. The British models of joint stock companies and limited companies and the way in which capital was channeled from moneylending and trading into industrial finance via the money market were quite inimitable, whereas state initiative and industrial banking as practised in those countries which were later beneficiaries of the industrial revolution would have been more appropriate examples for India.[1] The British-Indian Government, however, was either obstructing any development or it handled matters in a singularly inept fashion even when it was under orders from London to do something.[2] The British system of banking which was introduced into India was also quite useless for developmental purposes as it was geared to the needs of trade and provided neither rural nor industrial credit.[3] In the absence of a proper money market and faced with an unsympathetic government and an unsuitable banking system Indian capital could not cross the threshold into the realm of productive investment and remained confined to the lower regions of moneylending and trade.

It was only after independence that state initiative could break this barrier, but rural and industrial credit still remained underdeveloped and, therefore, India experienced a fragmented 'Development from Above' rather than an integrated 'Development from Below'. This 'Development from Above' was encouraged by theories of unbalanced growth which stressed the importance of a strategic breakthrough in the leading industrial sector as this would have a spread effect throughout the economy. However, the spread effect was slow and not necessarily of the same dimensions as the amount of capital invested in basic industries. The modern industrial sector, therefore, tended to become an enclave economy with its own standards of life and style. In terms of productivity this urban-industrial sector forged ahead, it encompasses only about 20 per

1. G. Findlay Shirras, op. cit., p. 394, for the stages of industrial finance see Alexander Gerschenkron, *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective*, Cambridge, Mass., 1962.
2. Peter Harnetty, 'India and British commercial enterprise : The case of the Manchester Cotton Company, 1860-64', IESHR (1966), p. 396ff.
3. G. Findlay Shirras, op. cit., p. 336ff., also S. G. Panandikar, 'Banking' In V. B. Singh, (ed.), op. cit., p. 414ff.

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cent of the population but contributed about half of the national product whereas the other half was produced by the remaining 80 per cent in the countryside. As has been pointed out earlier 60 per cent of this rural population continue to live at the threshold of survival agriculture. This is about half of the total population, and it is a matter of speculation how much this unfortunate half has contributed to the national product — perhaps not more than 10 per cent as this part of the population holds only about 25 per cent of the land. In summary it may be stated that 20 per cent of the population produce 50 per cent, 30 per cent about 40 per cent and 50 per cent about 10 per cent of the national product. [1]

Accordingly India witnessed the rise of a triple economy divided by two major thresholds : the industrial sector dominated by the state and a few big capitalists, the richer rural sector dominated by substantial peasants, traders and moneylenders, and the survival sector. The industrial sector was unable to offer enough employment as to assimilate the two other sectors. The thresholds were, therefore, maintained over a considerable period of time. Due to their economic persistence these thresholds have also been socially and culturally reinforced. The illiterate survival agriculturist and landless labourer, the rich peasant, moneylender or trader literate in his regional language, and the Westernized executive or civil servant set the tone at their respective levels.

The impediments to 'Development from Below' and the limitations of the spread effect of 'Development from Above' have also caused regional disparities. Urban centres created at the periphery of India by the seaborne trade of the colonial power attracted industries and enhanced the characteristic features of the enclave economy. [2] The concentration of mineral resources in the

1. The most recent information on the national product is contained in the *Estimates of National Product (Revised Series)*, Central Statistical Organisation, Government of India, New Delhi, 1969. This information shows that agriculture actually declined in terms of its share in the net domestic product in this period. It stood at 51 per cent in 1960/61, went down to 42 per cent due to bad harvests in 1966/67 and recovered only slightly in the following year (45 per cent). Of the other sectors mining and manufacturing maintained a share of 20 to 22 per cent, trade and transport 14 to 15 per cent and banking, real estate, administration and other services 15 to 17 per cent. According to the *Census of India of 1961* (Paper No. 1 of 1962, Final Population Totals) the population consisted of 439, 2 Mill. people of whom 78, 8 Mill. (18 per cent) lived in urban areas. 100 Mill. were recorded as cultivators and 31, 5 Mill. as agricultural workers. The 131, 5 Mill. engaged in agriculture thus represented 70 per cent of the total work force of 189 Mill.

2. D. R. Gadgil, *Planning and Economic Policy in India*, Poona, 1961, p. 181.

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North-East led to the establishment of basic industries almost exclusively in that area. Overpopulation in the fertile Eastern deltas and the scarcity of rainfall in the Western Deccan and Rajasthan have marked out special problem areas in agriculture. Alternative employment is not necessarily available where the survival agriculturist would need it most. Steel mills are first of all established for the efficient production of steel, they will have an impact on their rural hinterland [1] but this impact is, of course, not commensurate with the amount of capital invested in the mill, nor is the location of the mill planned so as to make the most of its impact on the hinterland. The triple economy and regional disparities thus reinforce each other.

The ideal pattern would be one of decentralized regional industrialization financed by the richer peasants and moneylenders and giving employment to the survival agriculturists. But this is more than one can hope for under the prevailing circumstances. The profits of usury, of hoarding and now of the 'green revolution' are much greater than those of investment in small scale industries.

Community Development was a major attempt at fostering 'Development from Below' and stimulating regional integration, but it has not fulfilled the high hopes of those who started it in India. [2] In the beginning the administrative structure of this new venture was very frail and not sufficiently integrated in the normal civil service network, and it suffered from the inherent difficulties of being established from above to initiate development from below. Later on the Block Development Officer with his small staff of agricultural advisers became a regular part of the administration, but in this way community development lost much of its spontaneity and flexibility. It was extended in a routine fashion to all corners of India, adequately trained staff was not available and communication with the peasantry became a problem. The peasants were after all very well aware of their own problems and the Development Officers could not change the basic constraints under which they were operating.

Bhoodan and Gramdan, a voluntary movement sponsored by Gandhian social workers aimed at reducing these constraints by transferring land from

1. K. H. Junghans, 'Das landwirtschaftliche Hinterland Rourkelas', *Indo-Asia* (1968), p. 42.

2. K. H. Junghans, 'Die Wechselbeziehungen zwischen agrarsozialer Eigendynamik und agrarpolitischer Aktion im indischen Dorf', *Yearbook of the South Asia Institute of Heidelberg University* (1966), Wiesbaden, 1967, p. 167ff.; also Detlef Kantowsky, 'Community Development and Panchayati Raj—leadership in a Community Development Block in Eastern Uttar Pradesh', *Inter Discipline* (1967), p. 43ff.

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the rich to the poor peasants and by restoring some power to the village community, but this movement lacked the executives who could turn declarations of intent into social action. [1]

District planning and the allocation of funds and responsibilities to elected bodies at the district level has been one of the most encouraging innovations of recent years. The district was chosen as the most suitable unit of regional development in Maharashtra and the District Board (Zilla Parishad) has been given ample powers. [2] But other states have made different arrangements for local self-government and the success of all these measures has yet to be tested. 'Planning from Below' remains a problem. [3]

An intensive agricultural development programme, popularly called 'Package Programme,' was introduced so as to find out what could be done in a district if all bottlenecks of credit and supply of inputs could be removed. In each state one district was selected which had already attained high targets in agricultural production in order to test to what extent a new standard of performance could be established with intensive aid. In selecting the districts in terms of the targets achieved the potential of the district for further growth was taken for granted and special effort was made to find out why the district had attained high targets and whether some constraints may not prevent additional growth. In many of these districts tenurial conditions were so bad that they proved to be an impediment to further development. [4] None of these districts produced any spectacular new experiment in agrarian relations and the increase in productivity which has been registered in most of them has been overshadowed in the meantime by the 'green revolution' which has shown that with sufficient resources and under suitable conditions no intensive programme is required in order to make peasants step up their production. However, the problem of economic integration still remains to be solved.

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1. Sugata Dasgupta, *A Great Society of Small Communities – The Story of India's Land Gift Movement*, Benares, 1968, p. 38f.; Sachidanand, *Sarvodaya in a Communist State—A Socio-Economic Survey of Gramdan Movement in Kerala*, Bombay, 1961, p. 94ff.; A. W. Sahasrabudhe, *Report on Koraput Gramdans*, Wardha, 1960, p. 19.

2. Maharashtra Zilla Parishads and Panchayat Samitis Act, 1961 (Maha. Act 5 of 1962) in : *AIR* 1962, p. 266. Amendment (Maha. Ord. 3 of 1962) in : *AIR* 1962. p 302.

3. H. C. Rieger, 'Bureaucracy and the implementation of economic plans in India', *The Indian Journal of Public Administration* (1967), p. 32ff., and H. C. Rieger, 'Indiens Erfahrung mit der Planung von unten', *Yearbook of the South Asia Institute of Heidelberg University* (1967/68), Wiesbaden; 1968, p. 30ff.

4. Wolf Ladejinsky, *A Study of Tenurial Conditions in Package Districts*, Government of India Planning Commission, New Delhi, 1965.

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5. *Political Development versus Developmental Politics*

Economic integration and political development are interrelated. Political parties reflect the interaction of economic interests and political decisions make an impact on economic affairs. As long as a country is not free to rule itself this interrelation may be rather tenuous. A freedom movement would reflect economic interests only to a certain extent, and as the movement does not control the government its political decisions will have no influence on the course of affairs. Colonial governments on the other hand keep aloof from the interests of the countries they govern and are guided by political decisions which are made elsewhere. In India under British rule parliamentary democracy was introduced with a very limited franchise. The national freedom movement was moulded by the political structure which it wanted to capture. The social policy of the Indian National Congress was, therefore, not too far ahead of the interests of the limited electorate which it wanted to impress. Organizationally the Congress did not reach below the district level which was the basic unit of British administration. Gandhi's 'constructive programme' of village uplift did not become a decisive element of political structure.

After a peaceful transfer of power the Congress merged with the administrative 'steel frame' left by the British. The maintenance of power was more important than the quest for extending the social basis of power. The heritage of the freedom movement provided sufficient social legitimacy for the ruling party and an awareness of the prevalent social constraints of political power discouraged any attempts at radical reform. [1] Adult franchise was bound to make a difference in the long run, but it did not necessarily sweep away the old constraints at once. A widening of the circle of political participation did not immediately imply a radical trend but first of all brought into the limelight the parochial conservative forces. In trying to reach the villages the ruling party established a partnership with the upper strata of rural society who would welcome an increase of their power due to 'Development from Above' without contributing to 'Development from Below' [2] In other words, the benefits of the political and legal system stop just above the first threshold.

The legal system inherited from the British has also been of doubtful value for 'Development from Below'. Its strong bias in favour of the creditor and against the debtor, its expensive procedure and its dependence on the techni-

1. Dietmar Rothermund, *Die Politische Willensbildung in Indien 1900–1960*, Wiesbaden, 1965.

2. Reinhard Bendix, 'Public authority in a developing political community : The case of India', *Archives Européennes de Sociologie* (1963), p. 39ff.

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calities of English Common Law have protected the interests of the rich and the strong. This system has, of course, assured the security of property and the availability of credit, but these benefits have not reached the small man, on the contrary, the system has been used so as to intensify his exploitation. In an advanced money economy which depends on trade and investment the easy recovery of credit is the mainstay of economic transactions, in an agrarian economy with a high percentage of survival agriculturists the legal provisions facilitating the recovery of credit were used by the strong in order to intimidate and enslave the weak. Cheaper local forms of dispensing justice could not prevail against the jurisdiction of the courts. Post-independence reforms which introduced village courts *(nyaya panchayats)* have not been successful because these courts did not have enough powers, and everybody who could afford it or who had lost his case in the village court would run to the old, established court in the district town. [1]

All these trends which characterize political development in India militate against developmental politics which would have to aim at the implementation of a radical land reform, the maintenance of a precise record of rights, the acceptance of cheap, local courts, the social control of rural credit, the decentralized industrialization of backward areas financed by direct taxation of rich peasants and traders, the reduction of the risks of the survival agriculturists and the general availability of improved inputs such as fertilizers, seeds etc. [3]

6. *The Social Order and the Value System*

The impediments to 'Development from Below' which have been described so far are much more relevant to the Indian problem than the rigidity of the social order associated with the caste system which is generally held responsible for India's economic ills. It is true that particularly in rural India the pattern of social dominance is frequently articulated in terms of caste and that in some areas permanent ties of dependence have been sanctioned by the caste system which inflicted social disabilities on certain groups making it impossible for them to hold land or to escape from servitude. But even in such cases the notion of caste expressed the relationship of dominance and dependence without

1. Detlef Kantowsky, 'Indische Laiengerichte—Die Nyaya Panchayats in Uttar Pradesh', *Verfassung und Recht in Übersee* (1968), p. 140ff.

2. A general indication of the awareness of the Government of India of these problems is given by a recent letter of the Prime Minister to the Chief Ministers on agricultural development, but this letter reiterates points which have been made earlier such as the fact that 'the absorption of improved farm practices is largely determined by the nature of tenures of the cultivators' etc. (Text printed in *Times of India*, August 27, 1969).

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necessarily being the cause of it. Most students of India's social history have been deceived by the categorical statements of Brahminical texts which for reasons of more or less enlightened self-interest contained a persuasive description of cause and effect as far as the caste system was concerned. In fact, the caste system provides a very loose system of classification of various groups in Indian society and even the distinction between caste and tribe is a problem which puzzles the anthropologist. [1] In the face of economic or political challenges the caste system has proved to be very flexible. Many people have worked in professions which were a far cry from their 'traditional' occupations without 'losing caste'. [2] Local leaders may use caste in their quest for power but they do not necessarily favour members of their own caste if this would be to their disadvantage in a wider context. [3] If caste restrictions acted as impediments to development as far as one caste group was concerned there would be other groups which could step in. The caste system discouraged 'Development from Below' only to the extent that it served as a justification for the solidarity of dominant groups in oppressing others and preventing individual deviation from the group norm. But such justifications have been found in other social systems as well. Only the fact that caste solidarity is based on endogamy distinguishes it from other forms of group solidarity. The other characteristic feature of the caste system, the notion of a hierarchical order of castes, is more of an ideal construction which becomes tangible only in the case of untouchability. And untouchability can, indeed, be singled out as the one great obstacle to 'Development from Below' as far as India's social order is concerned.

In the sphere of values much has been made of India's other-worldly preoccupations which are supposed to preclude any interest in economic development. Here again the values of a small spiritual elite have been wrongly taken for the values of the whole people. There is, in fact, much cant in the assertion of these values, or to put it differently, many people who actually live by other values and who know that they cannot realize the values of renunciation and spirituality in their own life compensate for this by showing their devotion and deference to those who profess to adhere to these values. But this assertion of spiritual values has not proved to be an obstacle to a vigorous pursuit of worldly advantages. [4] The only impediment to 'Development from Below' as far as

1. F. G. Bailey, 'Tribe and caste in India', *Contribution to Indian Sociology* (1961), p. 7ff.
2. Morris D. Morris, 'Values...'. loc. cit., p. 605f.
3. Adrian C. Mayer, 'Some political implications of community development in India', *Archives Européennes de Sociologie* (1963), p. 86ff.
4. Morris D. Morris, 'Values...', loc. cit., p. 595ff.

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the Indian value system is concerned is the absence of a genuine interest in social justice and a fair chance for all. Indian experience seems to teach that at least in this world such justice does not exist and there simply is no fair chance for all. This may, in fact, be a realistic appraisal of this world. However, those who think that a belief in liberty and equality is essential for 'Development from Below' would nevertheless deplore this attitude. Many Indians have raised their voice against it and have tried to assert the new values of social justice, but they will still have to convince the majority of the people whose experience has taught them a different lesson.

7. *Mobilisation, Conflict and Education*

It has been said by some observers of the Indian scene that the 'revolution of rising expectations' has not affected the majority of the people because of their 'limited aspirations'. After a survey of the constraints under which most Indians have to live it may be stated that these aspirations are not limited but latent because expectations cannot rise as long as these constraints exist. However, if people manage to cross thresholds in greater numbers their expectations and aspirations will increase and conflict will arise as they compete for scarce resources. The natural fatalism of the survival agriculturist and the complacency of the self-sufficient peasant are foundations of social and political stability. The great variety of patterns of physical and social dependence in agriculture makes an effective combination of interests (leave alone 'classes') almost impossible. But once constraints are removed there will be conflict. Those who are serious about economic development must face the fact that they are asking for trouble. Human mobilisation is challenging and dangerous.

Conflict cannot be avoided but it can be articulated so that it will contribute to its own solution and does not end in chaos. In this context education is of crucial significance, because it provides information about the alternatives of further action. People become aware of the manipulation of scarce resources and want to participate in it. This implies a familiarity with the social and political system, an access to those who wield power and authority and the knowledge of the rules and regulations which govern their decisions. Education will have to provide the skill for the articulation of demands as well as the insight that not all demands can be met simultaneously. It is the key to rational mobilisation but its quality may be doubtful in a triple economy burdened with a colonial heritage which has produced an enclave economy as well as an enclave education.

The inadequacy of education is a serious impediment to development from below. A stereotyped pattern of instruction, copied from outmoded foreign pre-

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cedent, and administered in a routine fashion without regard to the changing needs of the society does not contribute to a better understanding of one's own problems and how to deal with them. The anxiety to qualify oneself according to this system of education in order not to drop out of the race for jobs has a paralysing effect on the mind. The non-conformist may be disqualified and may end up in poverty, which is a haunting presence and not just a matter of relative deprivation. The survival educationist must avoid risks, he cannot think in terms of the real benefits of education. Here is another threshold which is as difficult to overcome as the more obvious ones. But in this case the dominant constraint may be a lack of imagination. New ideas are needed in order to satisfy the rising demand for education not only in terms of quantity but also as far as the quality of education is concerned. Recent field research has shown that even India's survival agriculturists want education for their children and put a higher premium on it than on additional land or other physical resources.[1] Gandhi's advocacy of 'basic education' was in tune with this demand, but his programme could not be implemented because it did not fit in with the prevailing institutional pattern of education. India still awaits an educational reform which would set free the forces of 'Development from Below'.

1. K. H. Junghans, 'Einfluss der Industrialisierung auf die geographische und geistige Mobilität traditioneller Agrargesellschaften in Südasien', *Geographische Rundschau* (1968), p. 429.

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TOLKĀPPIYAM STUDIES

BY

HARTMUT SCHARFE (Los Angeles)

The historical position of the Tamil grammar Tolkāppiyam is one of the major unsolved problems of Tamil philology : regarding its date, we do not know whether it is older or younger than the glorious Sangam poetry (1st to 3rd century A.D.); and in its content, it combines original ideas with unmistakable borrowings from Sanskrit or Prakrit grammarians—yet we have hardly been able to pinpoint these sources. I shall attempt to approach these questions in the following pages and if I do not have a ready answer to the main question, I hope at least to narrow down our options.

1. Southern Madurai (*TeN-maturai*)

It is widely believed nowadays that TolkāppiyaN belonged to the second of three 'literary academies' *(cankam)*. The first *cankam* was supposedly located in 'Southern Madurai', the original capital of the Pāṇḍiya kingdom; when this city was lost in the ocean, Kavāṭapuram became the new seat of government (and the academy) and finally, after this city too was lost, the Pāṇḍiyas took residence in the present Madurai on the river Vaigai. Enormous periods of time are assigned to each of the academies. Unfortunately, this tradition is very late—it occurs first in the commentary on the IRaiyaNār Akapporuḷ, i.e. in the 8th or 9th century A.D., and is, oddly enough, not mentioned at all by the important commentator Iḷampūraṇar in the 10th century A.D. Modern traditionalists have attempted to support this belief by invoking geological discoveries and theories : a vast continent called Gondvana probably once covered the area of the Indian Ocean including the adjoining continents; the loss of Southern Madurai is attributed to the formation of the Indian Ocean and the gradual submergence of much of the Gondvana continent. This use (or misuse) of modern science is somewhat pathetic; after all, the Gondvana continent disappeared 25 to 40 million years ago, while the first traces of man are now dated at about 2 million years B.C.—and these first samples (much older than the species homo sapiens !) were certainly not Tamil poets or Pāṇḍiyan kings !

But, leaving these extravagancies aside, some historians have seriously considered the previous existence of two Pāṇḍiyan capital cities which were lost in the sea. For one, they are motivated by the name 'Southern Madurai' which seems to call for another city besides the known Madurai. Secondly, they refer

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to other reports that cities were lost in South India, e.g. parts of KāvirippūmpaṭṭiNam and Mahābalipuram on the Coromandel coast, further an artificial river called PakRuli near Cape Comorin.[1] These testimonies of doubtful value are more than offset by the known fate of the ancient great ports of KoRkai (the Greek geographers called it Kolchoi) and Kāyal which are now several miles removed from the sea due to silting. The more than 2000 poems by over 400 poets in our Sangam collections (including such realistic works like Maturaikkāñci with 782 lines describing the life in Madurai !) do not mention even once the dramatic disappearance of the two former capital cities in the ocean floods.

As for the name 'Southern Madurai' we have to look for a linguistic rather than a geological explanation. It could be that Southern Madurai should just stress the fact that the city lies in the South; thus Maturaikkāñci 70 speaks of the 'southern Cape Comorin and the northern Himalaya'—there is only one Cape Comorin. In other cases, we can see a definite northern counterpart : *TeN-kāci* 'Southern Kashi/Benares' in the Tinnevelly District, the last capital of the Pāṇḍiyan kings after 1310 A.D., was evidently named after the sacred city at the Ganges. In fact, it was known through the centuries that the 'Southern Tamil Madurai' (*TeNRamiL-maturai,* Maṇimekalai 25, 139) was the southern reflection of the North Indian Mathurā, Krishna's birth place (called *Vaḍa-maturai* in Tiruppāvai 5, 1 and *Uttara-Madhurā* in the Pali Ghaṭa-jātaka). The Sanskrit form *Mathurā* or its variant *Madhurā* could appear in Tamil in no other form but *Maturai,* because Tamil has only one dental stop /t/ against the four of Sanskrit. The North Indian origin of this name is confirmed by the occurrence of the name 'Southern Madurai' in its untranslated form *Takkaṇa-maturai* (pali **dakkhiṇa-Madhurā*) in Maṇimekalai 22, 121.

The king Vijaya of Ceylon sent emissaries by ship to Southern Madhurā (*dakkhiṇam Madhurā-puram*) to woo the daughter of the Pāṇḍiya king (Mahāvaṃsa 7, 49); that does not mean that Madhurā was a port city as some have claimed—but how else can you get from Ceylon to South India? When the Hoysala king Vishnuvarddhana (12th century, Epig. Carnat. VI No. 160) claimed 'having squeezed Southern Madhurā-puram in the palm of his hand", he certainly meant the city at the Vaigai river, and the pious Akṣayakīrtti whose death from a snake bite is recorded in an inscription at Śravana Belagola (700 A.D., Epigr. Carnat. II No. 21) came from 'Madurai of the southern region' (*dakṣiṇabhāgadā Madure*)—from this same city, we might assume, and not from the city lost in the Indian Ocean.

1. PuRanāNūRu 9, 11 and Cilappatikāram 11. 19.

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All through the first millennium 'Southern Madurai' meant the city Madurai we know; the emergence of a contrast Madurai vs. (lost) Southern Madurai at the end of that period must be due to some secondary speculation. It cannot be used to claim a high antiquity for the Tolkāppiyam or other treatises. We might never know why exactly this theory was developed; but I want to make at least a suggestion.

The Cilappatikāram chapter 27 tells us that after divine punishment had befallen Old Madurai and lead to the death of its king, the Pāṇḍiyan king VeR-Ri-vēR-ceLiyaN at KoRkai conducted great sacrifices to propitiate the goddess; later another Pāṇḍiya was installed on the throne in Madurai. If maybe the port city of KoRkai (the center of pearl fishing and Pāṇḍiyan trade) was identical with the 'Pāṇḍya gate' (Pāṇḍya-kavāṭa) of the Kauṭalīya Arthaśāstra (mentioned for its pearls), we would get a sequence Madurai → Kavāṭapuram (KoRkai) → Madurai for the seat of the Pāṇḍiyan government. This could have given rise to the legend of a lost 'Southern Madurai' (and Kavāṭa-puram) as well as of the three academies.

2. Sound and letter

Some modern studies on the Tolkāppiyam have claimed that the author fully anticipated some phonological notions of our times like 'linear segments or phonemes' consisting of contrasting vowels, consonants or consonant-vowel combinations. These claims cannot be maintained, because their proponents have never satisfactorily secured the most elementary foundation, i.e. the meaning of *eLuttu*. There is no doubt that TolkāppiyaN refers to the 'sound' when he speaks of short and long *eLuttus* like *a* and *ā* or when he ascribes half a time unit to consonants (E 3, 4 and 11). I could add the terms *vall-eLuttu* 'hard sound, stop' and *mell-eLuttu* 'soft sound, nasal' or the whole chapter *piRapp-iyal* (E 83 ff.) which describes the phonetic processes of speech. But this is not all the evidence and we cannot afford to sweep the contradicting facts under the rug. Already the second sutra speaks in the same breath as it were of the very short *i*, the very short *u* and the *āytam* consisting of three dots—the last an evident reference to the written form. Final consonants have a dot (E 105); words with identical *eLuttus* may give different meanings due to a different intonation when spoken (E 142) : these rules must refer to writing. The phonemic theory as it is usually understood cannot classify phoneme groups (consonant + vowel) as phonemes; but such an assumption would be unavoidable if *eLuttu* were strictly taken as 'phoneme', because a 'one-*eLuttu*-word' comprises not only words like *ā* (E 43) but also *tū* (E 268)—apparently because they both are written with one syllabic sign (Sanskrit *akṣara*).

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The references to a written syllabic sign are plainly evident in a few other rules: "All consonants lose their dots and stand in their own shape when they join with the vowel /a/; they change their form when they join with other vowels—these are the two ways" (in which the consonant-vowel combinations are formed; E17); the two groups are dictated by the facts of the Tamil script and have no base in the phonetic or phonemic conditions. E 327 derives the pronominal form *nīyir* from *num* in such a way that the initial *n* 'loses' its *u* and then 'gets' an *ī*; *r* appears for the final *m* and an *i* comes in between : *num* > **nīm* > **nī·i·r* > *nīyir*. C 233 derives from the adjectival participle *ceyyum* or *vāvum* an alternate form *ceym* resp. *vām* by 'dropping the final *u* with its consonant'; this refers to the written form where the vowel *u* is attached to the preceding consonant. The graphic connection of consonant and vowel does not affect the phonetic value of the vowel (E 10); but an initial "vowel has no separate existence after a final consonant [of a preceding word]; it merges with the consonant destroying its individuality" (E 139)—this must again refer to the grapheme!

What then does *eLuttu* stand for : 'sound' or 'letter' ? The answer is almost embarrassingly clear in a modern translation of E 83 which describes in detail the phonetic production ofthe sounds : "...These eight organs produce all the letters which are born in different ways..." We see that the modern translator kept 'sound' and 'letter' as little apart as TolkāppiyaN, or F. Kielhorn for that matter in his famous translation of the Paribhāṣenduśekhara. While TolkāppiyaN often showed insights approximating the phoneme theory, he could not quite leave the graphemic description behind. This attitude is only too familiar to any student of the European grammatical tradition, where Greek *grammata*, Latin *litterae* and English *letters* have indiscriminately denoted both aspects of language description until the end of the last century. It was really only the North Indian grammatical tradition connected with the names of Pāṇini and the Prātiśākhyas that considered the spoken language in strict isolation from any possible written signs. The reason for this special development was the strictly oral character of the Vedic literature. Although the art of writing was probably known for at least part of the Vedic period (and has been expressly mentioned by Pāṇini) it played almost no role in these Brahmins' thought. The violations of this rule are so rare that they come immediately to one's mind. Durgasiṃha (8 th century A.D.), the commentator of the Jaina grammar Kātantra, explains in his notes on I 1. 16–19 the shape of the letters denoting visarjanīya ('like a little girl's breasts'), jihvāmūlīya ('like a thunderbolt'), upadhmanīya ('like an elephant's head') and anusvāra ('a drop'). The other author is Bhartṛhari; in his Mahābhāṣya-ṭīkā he explained Patañjali's statement

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in the introduction, that there are 'unused' words, with the paraphrase that these words are not used by people and not written in the grammatical manuals. In his remarks on the first Śivasūtra he stated that in the word *daṇḍa* the *a* in *da* and the *a* in *ḍa* are separated by *ṇḍ*, a probable indication that he reasoned in terms of the Devanagari script.

In Tamil literature we have a different situation; we find inscriptions before we find literary works and the oldest poetry has come down to us through manuscripts. It is no wonder then that we find the same lack of distinction between sound and letter as in the Graeco-Roman grammatical tradition. Acceptance of this view will help us to understand a few terminological peculiarities which have so far been taken for granted but hardly ever been understood. While in E 262 the additive compound *(Lakara-ukaram ('L + u')* denoting /Lu/ might be taken to refer to the spoken language, some other compounds, though superficially looking alike, cannot : E 75 *u-ccakāram ('cu')*, E 76 *u-ppakāram ('pu')*, E 234 *īkāra-pakaram ('pī')* can only refer to syllabic graphemes; the literal rendering would be '*c* with *u*', '*p* with *u*' and '*p* with *ī*'—and these compounds have actually been explained that way by Iḷampūraṇar and NacciNārkkiNiyar. The expression clearly refers to a consonantal sign combined with a vowel marker. C 445 speaks of a vowel *ī* or *ē* 'that will crawl upon a consonant' : the signs for these vowels were indeed added at the top of the consonant sign in the Tamil Brahmi script. The terms *mey* ('body') for consonant, *uyir* ('life') for vowel and *uyir-mey* ('living body') for consonant + vowel are explained most conveniently if they originally denoted the graphemes, although the now current explanation is based on phonetic considerations. NacciNārkkiNiyar in E 8 claims that the consonants cannot be uttered independently without the help of a vowel—which is blatantly false ! But in the script, the consonant sign is the body to which a vowel marker may be attached. The terminology of Sanskrit grammar is characteristically different : from a phonetician's point of view, the vowels are the outstanding 'sounds' (*svara*) and the consonants the 'marks' or 'condiments' *(vyañjana)* of speech; the consonants are regarded as auxiliary members of the vowels (Taitt. Prāt. 21, 1). To find a parallel to the Tamil 'body' and 'life' we have to go to a people for whom written language was of the utmost importance, like the Semitic people. Arabic *ḥarf* 'mark, sign' denoted the consonant in a basically consonantal script, *ḥarakāt* 'movement' the (often unwritten) vowel; a sign called *sukūn* 'rest' over a consonant marked the absence of a vowel.

Etymologically, the word *eLuttu* 'letter, sound' must originally have denoted just the letter, because it is derived from the verb *eLutu* 'write'. It is not legitimate to recur to a 'basic root' *eLu* 'rise, swell' (occurring in E 6); even if

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eLuttu should be derived from *eLu, eLuttu* can only be directly derived from *eLutu* and not from *eLu.*

Only in a jargon of professional scribes three expressions make sense which in their customary English rendering are both odd and confusing : the 'standing word' and the 'coming word' which comes 'before' the standing word wherever two words or word elements meet in a sentence. The 'standing word' *(nilai-moLi* E 174*)* or 'installed word' (*niRutta col* E 108) would be the word already written down; the 'word coming with reference' *(kuRittu varu-kiḷavi* E 108 *)* or later 'coming word' *(varu-moLi* NaNNūl 151) is the new word the scribe has to face now — it therefore 'comes before' (*muN varūum* E 234). This poses a problem for the translator : if he says of a combination *āN pī* that '*pī* comes before *āN*' (E 234) he violates the English language; but if he says '*pī* comes after *āN*' his translation says literally the opposite of the original. Still the second alternative is preferable; this must have been also the impression of the latest translator (S. Ilakkuvanar), when the switched in the course of his work from the first translation ('before') to the second ('after') — but as he has failed to inform us of his change of mind, he has only further contributed to the reader's confusion. The words *mēl* (E 134) and *micai* (E 331) meaning 'above' denote anything preceding, comparable to our expressions 'above mentioned' or 'supra'; these too belong to a tradition of written, not spoken literature.

3. The names of the sounds / letters

TolkāppiyaN uses in his grammar several, very similar suffixes to denote the Tamil sounds resp. letters. He lists himself (E 135 ff.) *kāram, karam* and *kāN*; it is not clear why he does not mention here the suffix *kārai.* While the short sounds, he says, may have any of the three suffixes listed, the long ones occur only with *kāram;* only *ai* and *au* may have *kaN* also — but no such usage is found in the text. *kāram* and *karam* have long been recognized as borrowings from Sanskrit grammar, where *–kāra* is a common device to denote a sound : *a-kāraḥ, ī-kāraḥ, ka-kāraḥ.* The emergence of the terminology can be traced through the Vedic literature. The Ṛgveda has a verbal compound *hiṅ-kṛ* 'make the lowing sound *hiṅ*' and the Yajurveda and Atharvaveda have also the corresponding noun *hiṅ-kāra* 'the sound *hiṅ*', *oṃ-kāra* 'the sound om', etc. From the Brahmanas onward the suffix *–kāra* occurs in the names of phonemes. No convincing explanations have been offered, on the other hand, by those who would like to see in *kāram, karam* and *kāN* original Tamil words.

There are remarkable restrictions concerning the use of some of these suffixes. *kārai* occurs only with *ñ* and *N : ñakārai* and *Nakārai. kāN* is found once with a vowel (*aḵkāN* E 123), and once with a stop *(paḵkāN),* unless we count *R*

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as a stop : then there would be three more instances *(Rakkāṉ)*. The remaining examples are all continuants : *na-Naṉkāṉ la-ḷaṉkāṉ; maṉkāṉ, yaṉkāṉ, vaṉkāṉ, NaṉkāṉN.* It is a much debated question, how the combinations with *āytam* should be pronounced : one long fricative or voiced stop or two distinct elements ? Does the occurrence of *āytam* indicate that *kāṉ* (or rather *ṉkāṉ*) is an original Tamil suffix ? But why is the use of the suffix then restricted to certain sounds ? The vowel names show a clear contrast. All short vowels appear exclusively with *karam,* all long vowels exclusively with *kāram. ai* and *au* are treated here like long vowels. The postulated use of *aiṉkāṉ* and *auṉkāṉ* (E 138; no example in this text) would on the other hand suggest that *ai* and *au* are short vowels. This confused state of affairs may in a way reflect the unclear phonetic state of these vowels themselves which are stated to be short in certain cases (E 57). Consonants may occur with either *kāram* or *karam : ta-kāram* and *ta-karam, ṇa-kāram* and *na-karam.* As *kāram* is almost identical with the Sanskrit original, it is the short vowel in *karam* that stands in need of an explanation. Any form with *kāram* can be directly attributed to Sanskrit influence; whether the form has been retained unchanged over a long time, or has been borrowed again at a later stage — it has little value in itself, except as a contrast. The important question is : why is the *a* in *karam* short ?

Why do we have *akaram* instead of **akāram, cakaram* instead of *cakāram ?* This shortening of the middle vowel corresponds with a change in a number of other loanwords (for reasons that will be evident soon, I quote the Sanskrit words in the nominative form) :

Tamil	*aracan* 'king'	Sanskrit	*rājā* (stem *rājan–*) > **arācan*
„	*aNikam* '*army*'	„	*anīkam*
„	*aruvi* 'shapeless'	„	*arūpī*
„	*ikalaN* 'jackal'	„	*sṛgālaḥ*
„	*urupu, uruvam, uruvu* 'shape'	„	*rūpam* > **urūpam*
„	*ulakam* 'world'	„	*lokam (ulokam)*
„	*ulavam* 'shyness, miserliness'	„	*lobhaḥ* > **ulobhaḥ*
„	*kumaraN* 'boy'	„	*kumāraḥ*
„	*kumari* 'girl'	„	*kumārī*
„	*patikam* 'preface'	„	*pratīkam*
„	*pavaḷam* 'coral'	„	*pravāḷam*

We see in these words the long middle vowel shortened when the original rhythm of the word was : short, long, long. This process was applied even to words which became trisyllabic only by the Tamil vowel prefix before initial *r* and *l (aracan, uruvam, ulakam).* This would indicate that vowel shortening took

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place in Tamil and not in the source languages; the only word that would suggest a vowel shortening of this kind in the source languages would be *kumara/kumarī* in Prakrit. A glance into any Tamil dictionary shows that there are virtually no words structured like *arūpī* or *pavāḷam*. Either Tamil has eliminated such rhythmic groups in its early history (and I can see no indication for this) or the Sanskrit words were pressed into the mould of Tamil word typology, in the same way they are adjusted phonetically also otherwise. TolkāppiyaN himself recommended complete adjustment of Sanskrit words to the spirit of the Tamil language (C 395 f.) : "The words of the northern language (i.e. Sanskrit, etc.) become fit to be used in Tamil when they adopt the Tamil phonetics discarding their northern ones; even if they become deformed in usage they are not excluded".

4. *ticai-ccol* 'dialectal word'

Words which are rooted in one of the twelve divisions of the Tamil country may still be used in literary creations even though they are not part of the literary language in general. These 'dialectal words' are called *ticai-ccol*, literally 'area word' (C 394). The direction words like 'north, south-east' are called with an almost identical expression *ticai-ppeyar* 'direction noun', *ticai* evidently denotes an 'area' as well as a 'direction' just as Sanskrit *diśā*, Prakrit *disā* to which it goes back; *diśā/disā* themselves are comparatively recent words (Mahābhārata, Ashoka, etc.) which replace an older *diś*. With this *diś* we have in Pāṇini's grammar an exact model for *ticai-ppeyar* in the term *dik-śabda* 'direction word'; but we look in vain for a similar expression for dialectal words. It is only in much later works (Bhāratīya Nāṭyaśāstra 17, 3; Hemcandra) that we find expressions like *deśī-gata* and *deśī-nāman* for local words that crept somehow into the literary usage. These authors are probably much later than TolkāppiyaN; but his use of the loan word *ticai* makes it likely he coined the term *ticai-ccol* after a model in the Sanskrit or Prakrit language. Will we ever find this source ?

5. Morphology and syntax of cases

TolkāppiyaN has classified the Tamil cases in evident parallelism to Sanskrit grammar : he speaks of 'second, third, etc.' cases similar to Sanskrit *dvitīya, tṛtīya* [vibhakti]; the sequence of the seven, or if the vocative is included, eight cases is the same from nominative through object case (accusative), etc., down to vocative. But the naming by numbers seems to be only superimposed, because there is still another set of terms that has no known correspondence in Sanskrit grammar. The cases from accusative to locative are commonly named after their most frequent case suffix as *'ai'* (or *aikāra-veRRumai*), *'āl'*, etc. These case

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suffixes are called *urupu* 'form' or *veRRumai urupu* 'case form'. These cases (*veRRumai*) are mainly semantic cases; strict values are assigned to each of them (C 66–77). But it is only to be expected that there is no exact one-to-one correspondence between logical relations, semantic notions and formal classes. In a sentence *kallāl eRintāN* 'he threw a stone' or more literally 'he threw with a stone' the stone is the object of throwing, but is formally in an instrumental case. TolkāppiyaN would say that it is an accusative case using the suffix of the instrumental. "Whatever may be the case signs employed the naming of cases depends upon the senses expressed by them" (C 102). Thus the suffix *ku* of the fourth case (dative) can be used to denote certain relationships normally denoted by the second, third, fifth, sixth and seventh cases, e.g. the notion of 'relation' denoted by the sixth case (genitive; C 106) : instead of *āviNatu kaNRu* 'the cow's calf' one may say *āviRku kkaNRu* (literally 'calf to the cow') without a change in meaning. Similarly, in the case of human beings a compound *Nambi-makaN*, 'Nambi's son', may be 'expanded' into *Nambikku makaN* literally 'son to Nambi' although we would expect a genitive *Nambiyatu*, 'Nambi's'. Inspite of its suffix *ku* the word *Nambikku* will be regarded as an '*atu*' case (sixth case genitive); *ku* here is a genitive suffix. TolkāppiyaN's description differs in this from that of the Sanskrit grammarian Pāṇini to whom we shall turn for a moment.

Pāṇini treats the case syntax on three levels : on the logical, semantical and morphological level. He ties the logical and semantical levels together when he says e.g. : "The fixed point when a separation takes place is called apādānam (I 4 24); the physical fact of a separation of two bodies is connected with the semantical category *apādānam*. Then the morphological item 'fifth case suffix' is assigned to denote the semantical category *apādānam* (II 3 28).

A separates from B > (B is called) *apādānam* > (for this) 5th suffix

This basic set of correspondences can be modified in three ways : (1) the logical category of comparison, where one item A is said to exceed the item B in some way (A is bigger than B) shall also be indicated by the same case suffix; (2) a syntactic condition may be added, like e.g. that the preposition *a* 'from, up to' shall be used with the fifth case suffix; (3) substitute endings may be ruled in to replace the basic suffix *-as*, like *-āt* in *aśvāt*. As there is no one-to-one relation between logical, semantical and morphological categories, adjustments are made in such a way that a case suffix is said to cover also this or that logical category, this or that semantic category; one case suffix relates this way to a whole bundle of logical and semantical categories which may be taken as the 'meaning of the case suffix X'. Thus it can be said that in a certain situation the third-case-

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ending is used in the 'value of the fourth-case-ending' (I 3 55) — but it still remains the third-case-ending. We can put it also this way : while the morphology of the cases is fixed, their relation with the semantical categories remains flexible.

TolkāppiyaN uses a simpler scheme : the semantic and morphological categories are merged. On the basis of the predominant case suffixes and their predominant meaning certain standard semantical cases are established and named after the standard suffix. Any suffiix expressing the semantical standard value of one of these standard cases is regarded as a suffix of this case. In other words, the adjustments are made not by extending the semantical value of a suffix, but by extending the morphology of a semantical case. This finds its parallels in the publications of some American linguists since the 1940's, but is a departure from Pāṇinian technique. I can say departure because there is a trace of the separate semantic factors in the Tolkāppiyam C 108; "They say that there are eight primaries for doing an action; they are doing, doer, object, place, time, instrument, recipient and result." Some of these eight primaries of causes are identical with some of Pāṇini's six 'causes' (*kāraka*) : 'agent' 'object', 'instrument', 'place', 'recipient'. But these primaries play no major role in the case syntax of the Tolkāppiyam.

6. Paradigmatic types

Two methods of linguistic description exist side by side in the Tolkāppiyam. The first is analytical, giving the suffixes and inflectional increments which are attached to a root or stem, e.g. C 203 "The three words which end in *ar, ār* and *pa* belong to the third person plural". This rule teaches, albeit in a somewhat clumsy style, the three alternate suffixes of the third person plural. This analytical method covers virtually all verbal and nominal endings. The second method is paradigmatic; the only basis for all forms is the root *cey* 'do make'. It covers essentially adverbial expressions and word formation in general. These are the forms found in the Tolkāppiyam :

cey, ceya, ceyal, ceyaRku, ceyiN, ceyku, ceykuNa, ceyta, ceytu, ceyteNa, ceypu, ceymmaNa, ceyyā, ceyyāy, ceyyiya, ceyyiyar, ceyyum, ceyyū.

In later grammars (e.g. NaNNūl 340) this paradigmatic description has been applied to clearly inflectional forms. Sanskrit grammar has hardly anything like it. The closest yet are the terms *kṛt* 'primary suffix', *kṛtya* 'gerundive' (both used by Pāṇini), *kārita* 'causative', *cikīrṣita* 'desiderative', *carkarīta* 'an intensive' (found in the Nirukta), *cekrīyita* 'an intensive' (Mahābhāṣya), all formed from the root *kṛ* 'do, make'. These terms exhibit to some extent themselves the morphological features which they denote. But they are not para-

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digmatic forms : *kārita*, which is itself a participle of the causative, denotes all the forms of the causative and not only a certain participle : the same is true for the other terms listed above.

The Sanskrit terms might have inspired a Tamil grammarian, be it TolkāppiyaN or an unknown forerunner of his, to attempt a paradigmatic description, but they were hardly a fullfledged model. Whatever the source or the motive for the paradigmatic description by TolkāppiyaN, we must say that paradigmatic and analytic description stand somewhat unrelated side by side, as if two grammatical traditions have been merged but not amalgamated.

There is a striking similarity between the paradigmatic forms of TolkāppiyaN and those found in Arabic (and Hebrew) grammar, where the root *f'l* (i.e. *fa'ala*) 'do, make' is the basis of all paradigmatic forms with no consideration whether *f'l* actually occurs in these forms or not. The paradigms teach the formation of the verbal classes and modes *(fa'ala, fa''ala, af'ala, tafa''ala,* etc. *)* as well as the formation of nouns *(fa'lu, fa'ilu, fi'ālu* etc. *)* including the correlation of the noun and the so called 'broken plurals' (singular *fi'ālu* : plural *fu'ūlu,* etc.). Indian influence on the grammatical school of Basra (8th century A.D.) has long been suspected; how else would Ḫalīl have abandoned the long established alphabetical order of the Semitic tradition of writing to replace it with a phonetic alphabet that begins with the velar sounds and proceeds to labials and nasals. Almost as a matter of course Sanskrit grammar has been given credit for that influence; but in a port city like Basra even Tamil grammar could not be ruled out as a source. Whether the use of paradigmatic forms from the root meaning 'do, make' can be used to support any such considerations, I must leave to experts in this field to decide.

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KHWAJA MIR DARD, POET AND MYSTIC

BY

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> God has created everybody for some work, and...every individual of the human race is distinguished by a specialisation, and every human being has got a special order. I was made for the things which are connected with me, and the binding of love was cast into my breast, without hatred, and I was granted, like the candle, the tongue of clear speech..... (D 288).

Thus says one of the most fascinating personalities in 18th century Delhi, Khwaja Mir Dard (1721–1785) who is known as one of the four pillars of Urdu literature. But Dard was not only an outstanding poet in both Persian and Urdu; he was likewise a prolific writer on mystical subjects, and his theories deserve a deep study (as I hope to offer it in a forthcoming book). He seems, to me, an outstanding representative of Indian Muslim tradition, disciplined by the training of the Naqshbandiya order, animated by his love of music and poetry.

The Naqshbandiya is usually considered an order whose members strictly follow the Divine Law and are not at all inclined to mystical enrapture as expressed in poetry and especially in music; they prefer the mystical contemplation, leading to the ineffable vision, to the ecstatic experiences which carry man out of himself and induce him to believe in a unity of Being *(waḥdat al-wujūd)*. The role of Ahmad Sirhindi (d. 1624), praised as the *mujaddid-i alf-i thānī*, "the Restorer of the second millenium", is well known; he and his successors influenced Mughal politics during the period of Shah Jehan and, even more, during Aurangzeb's reign and shortly afterwards.

It is, however, a strange fact that members of the same order were destined to play a decisive role in the spiritual life of Delhi during the 'twilight of the Mughals', the decades after Aurangzeb's death (d. 1707), and that some of them even influenced the development of Urdu poetry. The three most prominent members of the order — about whose relations to each other we know very little — were Shah Waliullah (1703–1762), Mazhar Janjanan (1699–1781) and Khwaja Mir Dard. The first one tried to bridge the gap between the theories of *waḥdat al-wujūd* and the strict Naqshi-mujaddidi concept of *waḥdat ash-shahūd*, and was very active on the political scene; his translation of the Qur'an into Persian is a masterpiece, and his work in this field was continued

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by two of his sons who translated the holy book into Urdu and thus laid the foundation of Urdu prose. Mazhar Janjanan — he too a 'pillar of Urdu poetry'—was the most ardent defender of the Naqshbandi teachings, and he was killed, as octagonarian, due to his aversion against the Shia faction in Delhi. Dard, the youngest one, is credited with having composed, for the first time, truly mystical poetry in Urdu. He is, however, at the same time, an interesting theoretician of mysticism, and his voluminous *ilm ul-kitāb* (in 648 pages large size) gives a complete account of his mystical theories and leaves us astounded vis-a-vis a man who was proud to be 'the first of the Muhammadans', the God-chosen guide of the faithful.

In order to understand the two facets of Mir Dard's character as a poet and a theologian we have to go back to his ancestors and teachers. He was a sayyid from both sides; his mother belonged to the family of 'Abdul Qadir Gilani, his father to that of Baha'uddin Naqshband. His paternal ancestors had migrated from Bukhara to India in the mid 17th century; in Aurangzeb's time they were given high ranks at the court, and even married into the Mughal family. Mir Dard's father Muhammad Nasir (1105/1691 — 1161/1758) left the military service and devoted himself to mystical life. He was connected with two very different masters, viz. Shah Sa'dullah Gulshan and Pir Zubair Naqshbandi. The latter was considered the last of the four *qayyūms* in the family of Ahmad Sirhindi who had considered himself and three of his descendants *qayyūm,* i.e. a kind of spiritual leaders of the Universe with almost unlimited powers. Zubair had been politically active; he sided — after Aurangzeb's death — with that son of his who was to become Emperor under the name of Shah 'Alam Bahadur (1707–1712).

As to the second master, Shah Gulshan, he is more famous as a leading spirit in the development of Indo-Muslim poetry than as a saint. He was a disciple of the famous Persian writing poet Bedil (d. 1721), whose difficult style is notorious; in the Naqshbandi order he had sworn allegiance to another member of Ahmad Sirhindi's family, 'Abdul Ahad with the poetical surname *Gul* 'Rose'. Therefore he called himself *Gulshan*, 'Rose-garden', and his disciple Muhammad Nasir quite logically was named *'Andalīb,* 'Nightingale'. Shah Gulshan is regarded as responsible for attracting the great poet of Dakhni Urdu, Wali Daccani, to Delhi, and after his visit in the capital (ca. 1707) it became fashionable to write poetry in Urdu — the breakdown of the Mughal Empire is reflected in the choice of a new medium of poetic expression, since the inherited Persian poetry had lost much of its strength and was thus in a certain way comparable to the rule of the Mughals. Shah Gulshan used to organize *mushairas,* and Muhammad Nasir followed his example; it was here that the boy Mir Dard

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and the young poet Mir met and became friendly. Shah Gulshan died in 1728 in Muhammad Nasir's house. At that time, Dard was about seven years old. His father had married twice; his first wife bore him a son, but died in childbed. This son — praised by Dard for his tenderness and lovable character — died in Rajab 1154/September 1741 at the age of 29. Muhammad Nasir's second wife was the grand-daughter of Mir Ahmad Khan Shahīd; her first-born child is Khwaja Mir, surnamed *Dard* 'Pain', who was born in 1133/1720–21. A second son was born about 1144/1731, and died in 1163/1750 at the age of 19; he, too, had shown remarkable sign of holiness. The youngest son, Khwaja Muhammad Mir, poetically surnamed *Athar* 'Result' was Dard's most faithful friend, companion, and disciple both in mysticism and poetry, and succeeded him as head of the order. He must have been born after 1740.

In the mid-thirties of the 18th century, Muhammad Nasir was granted a vision; Mir Dard tells in his *'Ilm ul-kitāb'* (K 85) in a touching account how his father went into seclusion for seven days, and only he — then in his early teens — attended the threshold of the meditation-room until his father returned to the world with the message of the perfect *tarīqa Muhammadīya,* the 'Path of the Prophet' which was, in fact, strict obedience to Qur'an and tradition, deepened and explained in a mystical sense. The inspiration had come to Muhammad Nasir through a vision of Imam Hasan, the Prophet's grandson.

When Pir Muhammad Zubair died, shortly after the pillage of Delhi by Nasir Shah's soldiers, in early 1740, Muhammad Nasir was heartbroken. It was at the occasion of the condolence visit of his friends that he told them — and that is important! —in *Hindi = Urdu* language the story of Love and Beauty (N I p. 3), a story which he, then, elaborated into a Persian work of more than 1800 pages in big size, called *Nāle-ye ʿAndalīb,* 'Lamentation of the Nightingale'. It is an allegorical story, or rather a web of many stories the ingredients of which are wellknown to the historian of literature; but the references to contemporary Indian life are interesting — the pagan king converted to Islam, rebellions in the Deccan, white elephants and hunting parties, musical discussions : all these form the background for the explanation of some peculiarities of the Muhammadan Path. The nightingale, eventually, turns into a symbol of the Prophet of Islam (NA II 712) and is again connected with the writer himself. In between, we find detailed theological discussions, e.g. about the schools of Sufism (NA I 789 ff, 882) and the different *madhhabs* of Islam, about Shia imamology (NA II 583); sometimes long paragraphs are devoted to the smallest details of ritual purity (NA I 446–449), fasting (NA I 842, II 217) and other problems. Dard's antipathy against the representatives of *waḥdat al-wujūd* stems apparently from his father's attacks against this group of Sufis (cf. NA I 622, 797, 808 and

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often), although Muhammad Nasir 'Andalīb is not as critical as his son of Hallaj's famous saying *Anā'l-haqq*, 'I am the Absolute Truth'; in fact he even uses the symbol of Mansur Hallaj in a charming story of an enamoured gazelle who imagines herself a human being and exclaims : "I am a human being" just as Mansur said "I am God" (NA I 132).

Sometimes Hindi *dhoras* are inserted into the text (NA I 36, 114, 557, II 2, 558), and the historian of religions will be interested in his allusions to and discussions of Hindu philosophy and Hindu customs. He thus discusses in detail Yoga-practices (MA I 413, 760, 798 ff, II 746) which are considered a remarkable achievement but much inferior to the experiences which are granted to the pious Muslim who attaches himself exclusively to the Prophet. The *Nāle-yi 'Andalīb* was read in Muhammad Nasir's family for more than a hundred years; its original manuscript was destroyed during the Mutiny 1857, but Firaq recalls that the ladies in the house used to tell their children the story of Rose Nightingale until they were mature enough to understand the deeper meaning (M 89).

The voluminous book was written down by Khwaja Mir Dard, and his father — alluding to the fact that he was the middle of his then living three sons — says proudly that the proverb 'The best thing is that in the middle' came true for him.

Dard had been attracted to religious thought since his childhood; he was probably about three or four years old when an accident occured that brought him very close to his father. In a back-projection typical of old age he tells (S 22) how his mind was grasped by the longing to swim in the ocean of Reality when he could scarcely speak. He spent most of the nights awake and cried until his nurse and the other servants became perplexed and tried all kind of remedies on him. Eventually his 'noble mother', his grand mother and his paternal aunt tried every prayer and 'breathing' :

> but when nothing worked they eventually brought the story to the blessed ears of the Venerable Qibla of the Worlds (i.e. Muhammad Nasir), and that manifestation of Divine Mercy came down, and when I saw the perfect beauty of the Pir and guide towards truth, I impatiently jumped like mad from my bed, run about and rubbed my head and eyes on his necessarily fortunate feet and cried bitterly without control. And I lamented : "O venerable father, my breast is so narrow, and involuntarily tears come and come. I wish that the truth should be discovered unto me so that my heart may find consolation; for I do absolutely not understand the depth of my own real being — who I am and why I have been born and

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> why I live and whence, and where, and who is my creator, and the creator of all those things, and what is the result of this creation ?"

The father consoled him, and from that moment on the strange relation between father and son continued till Dard's death, not diminishing even after his father's passing-away.

At the age of fifteen Dard composed in seclusion during Ramadan a booklet *Asrār aṣ-ṣalāt* 'Mysteries of ritual prayer'; he must have studied formal sciences and all those books which a well educated young man was supposed to know, including, of course, Jalaluddin Rumi's *Mathnawi*. He put on the 'garb of a dervish' only when he was 29 years old, and succeeded his father at the age of 38, in 1758. He had secured the approval of Muhammad Nasir 'Andalīb for the collection of 111 inspired poems and short prose pieces which were called, with a term common to mystics everywhere in the Islamic world, *wāridāt*. Around them he composed his main work, the *'Ilm ul-kitāb*, 'Science of the Book' which was finished about 12 years after his father's death, in ca. 1770.

It is a strange book: each of its 111 chapters begins with the invocation *Yā Nāṣir*, alluding to his father's name, but, of course, also reminding the reader of the Divine Name *an-Nāṣir*,

> so that everybody who reads the books and treatises and compositions and writings should first see this famous name and everywhere in the books of our deeds this blessed name is written, and all the sins and rebellions of us, the sinners, become wiped out and forgiven by virtue of the spiritual power of this name. (S 17).

After the *basmala*, then, the name of the chapter is given, which always relies upon some Qur'anic expressions. An introduction in Arabic explains the inner meaning of this title and — at least sometimes — the broad outlines of the chapter. Then follows the main part in Persian which is often highly technical, full of terms borrowed from logics and science, and it even happens that a whole chapter is written in Arabic, like Nr. 85 'About the appearance of the names and qualities and the concealment of the Essence'. Eventually one reaches a quatrain, one of those *wāridāt* which form the nucleus of the chapter, and a text in rhymed prose, interrupted by long comments. The length of the chapter varies from 2 to 10 pages. We find a large number of quotations from classical theological sources, and discussions of the Muhammadan Path. For the modern reader, Dard's allusions to his own life, his autobiographical paragraphs, constitute an especially attractive aspect of the book which generally does not make a very pleasant reading.

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Since Dard was fond of music, an attitude contrary to the Naqshbandi tradition, he composed a book *ḥurmat-i ghinā* 'Honor of music'. He is reported to have studied Indian classical music intensely, and to have sung the Indian rag and ragnis with a beautiful voice (M 147, 148). The *samāʿ* — meetings which he arranged twice a month for his deceased father (who was also interested in music) — were famous in Delhi. The way how our poet confesses his love of music is, for us, almost amusing, and not completely convincing :

> My *samāʿ* is from God, and God is every time witness that the singers come from themselves and sing whenever they want; not that I would call them and would consider it a sort of worship when I listen to them — as others do; but I do not refuse such an act. However, I do not do it myself, and my creed is that of the masters. But since I am imprisoned in this affliction according to the Divine Assent — what can I do ? God may absolve me; for I have not given a fatwā that this should be licite, and I have not built the mystical path upon *samāʿ* so that the other masters of that path who have absolutely no idea of the way of modulation should have become dissonant and sing about me all those melodies which one should not sing, and open the lip of reproach without reason in my absence..... (N 35).

He repeats this statement a few years later, this time explaining his study of music as a study of a science like mathematics or other natural sciences :

> My listening to melodies and songs is (not) of that kind in which the adulterers and fornicators of passion and lust listen, for they are overcome by their animal natures, nor of that kind in which the Sufis and the (mystical) wayfarers listen with delight and love; for that is a sign that they are overcome by the mode of Unity (i.e. have lost themselves in mystical intoxication), but it is the same way as scholars and virtuous people study other mathematical sciences...

Around 1775, Dard started composing the *Nāle-yi Dard,* 'Lamentation of Dard' or 'of Pain', corresponding to his father's *Nāle-yi ʿAndalīb.* Shortly afterwards he worked on the *Āh-i sard,* 'The Cold Sigh', and his last two books *Dard-i dil* 'Pain of the Heart' and *Shami-i mahfil,* 'The Candle of the Assembly' were both begun in 1782 and finished in the end of 1784. We can define them best as 'spiritual diaries', interspersed with admonitions and prayers.

When Dard finished the last book he had reached the age of 66 lunar years. Since his father had died at that age, and God had promised him (S 329) long

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ago that he would be like his father in every respect, he was sure that God would take him soon from this world. In fact, he died shortly afterwards on 24. Safar 1199/ 11th January 1785.

The close connection between Dard and his father is one of the strangest facets of his life. Muhammad Nasir was his unique *murshid* and religious guide who had entrusted to him all the secrets of the Muhammadan Path. For every word he wrote he sought support in the *Nāle-yi 'Andalīb,* and this book was, for him, second only to the Qur'an and tradition, and much more important than all the Sufi books, including Ibn 'Arabi's *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam,* 'Bezels of Wisdom' :

> I read — (but) not the *'awārif* (*al-ma'ārif* by Suhrawardi) and the *futūḥāt (al-Makkiya)* and the *fuṣūṣ (al-ḥikam,* both by Ibn 'Arabi),
>
> The *Nāle-yi 'Andalib* became my special litany;
> God made me a sincere Muhammadan —
> In me there is nothing else, but sincerity.

At the time when our mystic composed the *'Ilm ul-kitāb* he used to converse every day with the spirit of his deceased father and still longed for more intimacy with him (K 636). The love of his father led him to compose his last four books in 341 short chapters each — corresponding to the numerical value of the word *Nāṣir;* and the *'Ilm ul-kitāb* ends in a praise of the Prophet the last words of which are *Muhammad nāṣir* 'Muhammad is helper' which can also be interpreted as his father's name. Firaq even tells us that every member of the family, including the servants, used to be called by a name containing the word Nāṣir, like Nasir Bakhsh for a servant. (M 92).

This close connection made Dard invent a special rank of mystical union : whereas the usual path proceeds forom 'annihilation in the shaikh' to 'annihilation in the Prophet' and eventually 'annihilation in God', culminating in the *baqā billāh* 'remaining in God'— which means to turn again to the world, and to live in and through God, Dard asserts that some mystics know the even higher rank of 'abiding in the Prophet' and adds, now, the *baqā bish-shaikh,* the constant 'remaining' with the mystical guide. He describes here his own situation which seemed, to him, the highest possible mystical station : a constant unification with the master/father who, in his turn, was completely annihilated in and united with his ancestor, the Prophet of Islam. (K 115).

This perfect identification with his father is reflected in Dard's family life, thus in the devotion of his younger brother Athar to him. Dard speaks also with high regards of his pious mother, and it is touching to read in the midst of high

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mystical speculations his exclamation : "I confess, I love my wife and children dearly....." (N 70).

Dard had been married in his teens, his son Diyā' un-Nāsir with the pen-name *Alam* 'Pain' (d. 1215/1800) spent many years wanderingt through India, and the family tradition relates that he converted even a few jinns to the Muhammadan Path who then came from Bengal to Delhi (M 143). Alam had no male issue; through his daughter Amani Begum the line goes down to Firaq, the author of the *Meikhane-yi Dard,* an account of Dard and his family, not always conforming to the statements in Dard's own books, but useful because of many informations. Besides Alam, Dard's wife bore him two daughters, one of them, though married, remained in her father's house and had no children, the other one became the mother of the mystical poet *Ranj* 'Pain'; one of Ranj's daughters from his second marriage later married the poet Mu'min.

Love of the family meant, for Mir Dard, in the first line love of the Prophet. Every blessing which is uttered over Muhammad and his family works on him and his family too, because they are genuine sayyids as well as the first members of the Muhammadan Path. The sayyidship grants him a special proximity to the Prophet, an idea which he often elaborates (cf. K 418). He does not want to be a Sufi, but 'the first of the Muhammadans'. The word Sufi becomes in his writings something deprecative — these are people who talk much theoretical stuff which is not based upon Qur'an and tradition, and who often only want to display their miracles and gain fame by sitting in solitude in some mosque or graveyard, but neglect the simplest duties of the faithful. Especially those who held the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wujūd* are targets of his attacks. Though he wraps his criticism of Ibn 'Arabi in rather polite words (and adds that he himself was granted much more comprehensive inspiration than the Great Master, K 412) he feels that the theories of the great theosophist, once made public, are very dangerous for the masses. He follows, thus, the strict mujad-didi-school, and uses strong language when talking of these defenders of the *hama ost*, 'Everything is He', even to the extent of calling them 'pig-natured'. Still towards the end of his life he himself could not help using, now and then, the language of love and intoxication.

Dard is also not a full-fledged adherent of Ahmad Sirhindi's theories of *waḥdat ash-shuhūd*, but he fully agrees with the word *hama az ost*, 'Everything is from Him'. His first objection against the Sufi theories of existence is the use of the word *wujūd* which is not to be found in the Qur'an in the sense of 'existence'. He prefers to call the Absolute Divine *nūr*, 'Light', 'which suggests both Absolutism and Omnipresence', and never gets tired of stressing the absolute unattainability of the Absolute Actual Existence which is Behind the Behind and

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which is Absolutely Necessary whereas everything besides is only relative or contingent. And no contingent being, though blessed with a God-given existence of its own, can ever reach the Necessary — the contingent is not essentially one with the Absolute Necessary but "The servant remains servant, and the Lord remains Lord", as he attests in the traditional Naqshbandi formulation. The closest proximity which man can hope to attain through the mediation of the mystical leader and the Prophet is perfect *'abdiyat*, 'servantship', i.e. the rank of which the Prophet himself was proud (cf. Sura 17/1 : it is Muhammad the *'abd* who ascended to his heavenly night-journey). The highest bliss is the vision of the Absolute Light. Nothing besides Him has real existence; but everything is a mirror of His names and qualities, and "whithersoever ye turn there is the Face of God" (Sura 2/109) as Dard repeats with the Qur'anic verse which the mystics have repeated for centuries.

Dard has noted down some of his personal mystical experiences : there is the strange account of the fact that he was given a hundred names (K 62) which he enumerates : the meditation of names and the search for identity by means of names is typical of many Eastern thinkers (even Kipling alludes to this peculiarity of the Indian mind in the 11th chapter of 'Kim'), and we find the inclination to surround the heroes with marvellous names already in Muhammad Naṣir's *Nāle-yi 'Andalīb*, where the nightingale is given 84 names, and the hero once is called with 104 names (many of them hinting at the author's own personality). The mystical theories according to which the Ninety-Nine Most Beautiful Names of Allah are reflected, in different shades, in human beings, supported this kind of speculations, and that is why we find them extensively in the work of Dard who — as he claims — was in search of his identity already as a small child.

Another most interesting part of the *'Ilm ul-kitāb* is the description of the author's journey through the different stages of the Prophets — an experience well-known to the Sufis who aimed at traversing the spiritual states of the Qur'anic prophets on there way towards the comprehensive Reality of Muhammad. Dard describes here how the unification with the different prophets purified him more and more; he alludes especially to his Ishmaelian state when his father was ready to sacrifice him (we do not know to which event he alluded), he further speaks of the powers of the great archangels which support him in eating and drinking, waking and sleeping, and how his limbs are dissolved and again joint together (K 504 f.) — in short a highly revealing description for the psychologist and historian of religion.

The mystic even commits to paper the auditions which he was granted.

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(This is usually done in Arabic, since the Divine Word is heard in the language of the Qur'an). Thus he relates (K 61 f.) :

> HE spoke to me : Oh Viceregent of God and oh Sign (*āya*) of God, Verily I have witnessed your state of servantship *(ʿubūdīya)*; now you witness My Divinity, for you are My servant and he whom I have accepted and whom My prophet has accepted.
>
> I said : Oh Lord, I witness that there is no god but Thou, and I witness that Thou art a witness over all things. Oh my God and object of my worship — and there is no goal for me besides Thee ! I am the family-member of Thy beloved, and part of Thy nightingale.
>
> And HE said : Oh ʿAbdallah, o who knows God *(ʿārif billāh)*, verily I made you a place of manifestation comprising all My manifestations,—so bring now My sign to all my creatures. And I have called you to the Utmost Sum Total (jamʿ) and the Muhammadan Sum Total, and who obeys God and the prophet.
>
> I said : Oh Lord, I accept all Thy orders and call the people to Thy religion and Thy Islam; so lead them to me and to my father so that I may lead them to Thee and to Thy prophet, and Thou guidest whom Thou willest.
>
> He said : O you to whom have come the *wāridāt*, o source of the signs, verily We have made you a sign for people so that perhaps they become guided, but most of the people do not know.
>
> I said : Oh Lord, Thou knowest what is in me, and I do not know what is in Thee — if Thou punishest them : they are Thy servants; and if Thou forgivest them : Thou art the wise.
>
> And He said : Say : If Reality were more than that which was unveiled to me, then God would verily have unveiled it to me, for He, Most High, has completed for me my religion and perfected for me His favor and agreed for me Islam as religion, and if the veil would be opened I would not gain more certitude — verily, my Lord possesses mighty bounty.

This is the highest possible rank man can attain after the Prophet, and the tension between the knowledge that has been created in the image of the Divine name The Merciful and the daily renewed feeling of sinfulness and imperfection is reflected, sometimes, in Dard's prayers which are scattered in his books. He knew that man needs constant spiritual struggle for his journey home *(safar dar waṭan)*. The human heart has to be educated through per-

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manent *dhikr* which slowly extends to the five *laṭā'if*, viz. soul *khafī* (hidden) and *akhfā* (most hidden, each of them being located in a certain direction from the heart) until the *dhikr sulṭānī* is reached which means that the whole human being is submerged in uninterrupted remembrance of the Divine Name. The mystic, then, lives and acts in the community in complete detachment *(khalwat dar anjuman)*. The most important ingredients of mystical life are patience and suffering, and the more the lover is 'broken like the lovely curls of the Beloved' the more perfect he becomes.

There was no dearth of suffering in Delhi during the 18th century when the unhappy capital was destroyed and pillaged almost every five to ten years, and Dard — as little as he mentions the outward manifestations of the world — cannot help sighing (N 140) :

> The blessed town of Delhi in which is the burial-garden of the Qibla of the Worlds and which God may keep cultivated until resurrection was a wonderful rosegarden, but it has now been trampled down by the autumn of the events of time. It had lovely rivulets and trees and inhabited places of people of all kinds, and has now become the plunder of the blow of Fate. In every respect was it on the surface of the earth like the face of the moonlike beloved, and charming like the freshness of the mole. Oh God, keep it from all the afflictions and calamities and make it a safe place and nourish its people from fruits and make that those who enter it be safe !
>
> Delhi which time has now devastated —
> Tears are flowing now instead of its river :
> This town had been like the face of the lovely,
> And its suburbs like the down of the beloved ones !

He also prayed for the unhappy population that God may preserve them and not allow the foreign armies to enter the town; but it was, probably, too idealistic when he thought that it would be better for the poverty-strucken and helpless inhabitants of Delhi

> to follow the path of God and Muhammadan Path, so that they may pluck the roses of inner blessings from the rosegarden of their company and listen to the lamentation of the Nightingale and understand his books. (D 154)

Still, for about one year he spent most of his time in the early morning and throughout the day in prayers at the tomb of his father, hoping for help in the almost hopeless situation. Most of his friends had left the capital — Mir and Sauda, the two leading poets of the age, were gone to Lucknow, and Delhi

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became desolate. But Mir Dard stayed close to his father's tomb and explains the reason for his steadfastness (D 83) :

> Why should I go out ? It means just a loss of time; for everywhere there is nothing apparent but annihilation in annihilation, and at every place the lustre of 'Everything is perishing except God's Face' (Sura 55/16) becomes visible. And I melt every moment like ice from the vision of the sun of Reality and destroy in every wink my personification which is bound by supposition — not a sound of a cord lifts the head of desire from the shirt of my heart, and not a harmony raises the flame of sound from the harp of my heart...

One of his biographers writes that "the mountain of his patience would have made Shaikh Farid Ganj-i Shakar bite his fingers from amazement like sugarcane" (and Farid Ganj-i Shakar, d. 1265, is famous for his ascetic practices). Dard used to keep the fasting times very intensely, and is even said to have invented special fasting practices — a facet of his life on which Firaq dwells quite a while. He gave himself to writing and teaching — his books were his spiritual children, and his theories about the characteristics of inspired mystical poetry are worth analyzing. Thus he thinks :

> A gnostic without a book is like a man without children, and a work which is absurdly unconnected, is like a child with bad character. (K 592)

And in a comparison which reminds the reader of one of the meditations of John Donne, though in reversed form, he speaks of the life of books :

> The time that a word remains is, like the life of him who has written it, called a pawn of death, and the last end of the word and of him who has said it, is annihilation in annihilation. Then, the like of books which for a long time appear on the page of destiny is like a great person for whom death lies in ambush during long years, and the like of books which are just now composed and the drum of whose fame becomes a bit louder is like young people whom God may make reach old age or who may die young. And the like of pages and treatises whose authors are always under the burden of pregnancy with them although those compositions have not yet come out of the womb of namelessness — those are like babes who, if they remain safe from smallpocks and other diseases, will perhaps reach the time of a weak youth. But this hope is only their (the authors') supposition, for eventually all of them have

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to die. And since those strong ones do not last the rest will also not last, and how would it be possible for these weak ones without head and tail to remain? In any case, nobody would approve of death for his own child, but wishes that it live up to its natural lifespan. Otherwise the choice belongs to God, and everyone who has a child is entangled in these circumstances. ...And thanks to God the He Almighty Who, just as He has granted this rebellious servant fortunate external children, has given him also spiritual children... (N 308).

We do not learn anything of his teaching activities from his spiritual diaries, except for a few hints at his expanding fame; but there are a number of Urdu poets who have been his disciples — besides his brother Athar whose mathnawi *Khwāb u Khayāl* has been analyzed by M. Sadiq in his *History of Urdu Literature*, and Dard's son Alam, we find the names of Qa'im, Hidayet, Firaq, Bedar (who was already attached to Muhammad Nasir and sometimes noted down a chapter of the *Nāle-yi 'Andalīb*) and Tapish, further the Hindu poets Bekhud, Ghumman, Huzur and Aziz.

Gatherings of the poets and musicians were held in Dard's house as long as possible, and even the Mughal Emperor Shah 'Alam II with the pen-name Aftab who officially ascended the throne in Delhi only in 1772, would sometimes attend the gatherings; it is told by almost all biographers that the mystic did not hesitate to rebuke him when he did not sit according to the etiquette.

Sometimes Dard could not help expressing his problems in highflown Persian prose, or in Urdu and Persian verses, because he was compelled to speak out whatever was in his heart. A typical example of his prose is the paragraph (S 3) when he tells the reader of his state as a poet who witnesses the Divine Beauty, using the imagery of the garden which he — the son of the 'Nightin gale'—preferred to other metaphorical expressions :

> In the rosegarden of 'Be and it was' the garden-adorning of 'He created man' made — with the irrigation of 'He taught him speech' — the lily of my individuation ten-tongued by the growing of the ten senses, and caressed the twigs of my hands and feet, or rather leaf by leaf of every limb, by lifting up the charge of 'God Who made speak everything made us speak' ...It made this waxing body of mine completely like the bush of Moses, singing the tune *(maqām)* of *tauḥīd*, and from every root of my hair it made grow an index-finger for beckoning to the side of the One Real; and the art of existentialisation has made me directing toward the exist-

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ence of the Artist, and has made manifest from me, the perfectly ignorant one, without words all the mysteries of His complete words...

Dard's verses out of necessity follow the traditional vocabulary of Persian poetry with the puns on lover, love and beloved, the long black tresses of the sweetheart, the footprint in the desert and the picture on water, the fairy in the bottle, the dance of the peacock and similar images. Dard is especially fond of the image of the mirror which recurs hundreds of times in both his poetry and prose : for the world is a mirror of the eternal Absolute Beauty Who wanted to be known; man is a mirror in which the Divine Names are reflected; the heart is polished by the recollection of the Ninety-Nine Most Beautiful Names until they can shine through it, until the lantern of the body does no longer hide the light which man acquires in constant worship.

One of the subjects which often recur in Dard's writings is the question which had puzzled him as a child : 'Who am I?' One of his most famous verses in the Urdu divan says :

The states of the two worlds are clear to my heart —
Till now I have not understood what I am.

Or, as he puts it in a Persian line :

We are unaware of our own manifestation in this garden :
The narcissus does not see its own spring with its own eye !

That may be written at the same time when he wrote (N 326) :

As much as I came to know God, I did not become self-knowing, and though I reached God I did not reach myself — for to know God is the same as to acknowledge the inability of knowing one's self...

And in the last phase of his life he sighs once more (D 161) :

Woe — where shall I seek my lost heart? And which side should I go to follow it? And whom shall I ask what is good for it? And how can I become 'one with heart' (*ṣāḥib-ī dil*) ? For my melancholy heart has, in thinking of the Essence which is the Behind the Behind, gone so far from itself and has hidden itself so much from my blunt view that no information about its going reached this imaginary individuation — and how could it reach anybody else ? And the sound of its feet does not reach the ear of me, the unknown — and how less could others hear it? But then I understood that according to the fact that everything which falls into a salt-mine becomes salt, this consumed one reached in the degree of its absence the mode of the world of the Unseen and concealed itself

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from my outwardly seeing eye in the veil of concealment and got lost in the very place where it run around. 'And everything perishes save His Face.'

Dard has used here a metaphor first found in 'Aṭṭār's poetry, then in Rumi's Mathnawi (II 1344) to designate *fanā*, 'annihilation' and spiritual regeneration.

We mentioned already that Dard is fond of garden imagery, and he loves allusions to and comparisons with the rose : the relation of this imagery with the name of his father 'Nightingale' and Shah Gulshan 'Rosegarden' is almost ever implied in verses and prose-sentences which contain 'roses'. Dard's Persian prose style is refined and artistic, often tending to rhyme–prose; his Persian poetry is traditional, its most attractive part being the numerous rubā'īyāt. The Arabic in which he writes parts of the text of the *'Ilm ul-kitāb* is forceful and straightforward, and in his very small collection of Urdu poetry a tenderness and simplicity are visible which are most rare in Urdu literature.

These Urdu poems are the sighs of somebody who has reached perfect peace and sees in everything the hand of the inscrutable Absolute Beloved, and recognizes the outward world as a dreamlike reflection of the Eternal Reality :

Oh ignorant one — at the day of your death it will become clear to you :

A dream was what we have seen; what we have heard, a tale.

Eventually, there is no difference between pain and happiness left — everything is from Him, and

Pain and happiness have the same shape in this world :
You may call the rose an open heart, or a broken heart.

Abbreviations : K = *'Ilm ul-kitāb*, Bhopal 1310 h/1892–3; Four risalas, Bhopal s. d. : N = *Nāle-yi Dard;* A = *Ah-i sard*; D = *Dard-i dil*; S = *Sham'-i maḥfil*; *Dīvān-i Fārsī*, Delhi 1309/1891–2; *Dīvān-i Dard Urdu*, ed. Khalil ar-Rahman Da'udi, Lahore 1961; N = *Nāle-yi 'Andalīb*, 2 vols., Bhopal 1308/1890-1, M = Nasir Nadhir Firaq, *Meikhane-yi Dard*, Delhi 1344/1925–61. — Cf. Yusuf Husain, Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture, London 1959, p. 64 ff.

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THE UNICORN

Origin and Migrations of an Indian Legend

BY

DIETER SCHLINGLOFF (Munich)

The problem of Buddhist influence in Christianity is widely discussed[1]. Even hundred years ago it was recognised that the legend of Barlaam and Josaphat, well known in the middle ages, had its origin in the legendary biography of the Buddha[2]. The name "Barlaam" derives from Sanskrit "Bhagavan"—The Exalted One, a honorary title of the Buddha. In the same way the name of Josaphat derives from a title given to the Buddha. "Josaphat" represents the Indian "Bodhisat" or "Bodhisatva"–One whose nature is enlightenment–, a title of the Buddha on the way to his enlightenment. Encouraged by this discovery some scholars believed that a number of other Buddhist themes could be found in the Christian legends. Since these scholars were not always clear about the possibilities and limitations of such comparisons between legends, a lot remained uncertain, especially when the so called correspondence could be equally well explained as an independent development. Two examples from the Barlaam story would clarify this. Both the Buddha in the Buddha legend and Josaphat in the Barlaam story, after fleeing the material world change their clothes with those of a beggar. This trait could easily be taken over from the legend but it could also originate from an independent reasoning. How else could a prince fleeing the materialistic world acquire the clothes of a poor man except by exchanging them with a beggar ? Secondly, both Buddha and Josaphat, after renouncing the world, convert their fathers–possibly a correspondence. However, what should be more important to a reverant son who has become a Holy man, than to convince his father ? A mere similarity is not enough to prove a correspondence. When a story has a certain trait which cannot be explained on its own only then this trait can prove that it has its origin in a corresponding Buddhist narrative.

1. See R. Garbe : Indien und das Christentum, eine Untersuchung der religionsgeschichtlichen Zusammenhänge, Tübingen 1914; Further literature in H. Haas : Bibliographie zur Frage nach den Wechselbeziehungen zwischen Buddhismus und Christentum, Leipzig 1922.

2. See E. Kuhn : Barlaan und Josaphaat, eine bibliogr.–literaturgeschichtliche Studie, Abh. d. Bayer. Ak. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl., Bd. XX, 1, Munich 1893; further literature in Haas, op. cit. and in S. Hanayama : Bibliography on Buddhism, Tokyo 1961.

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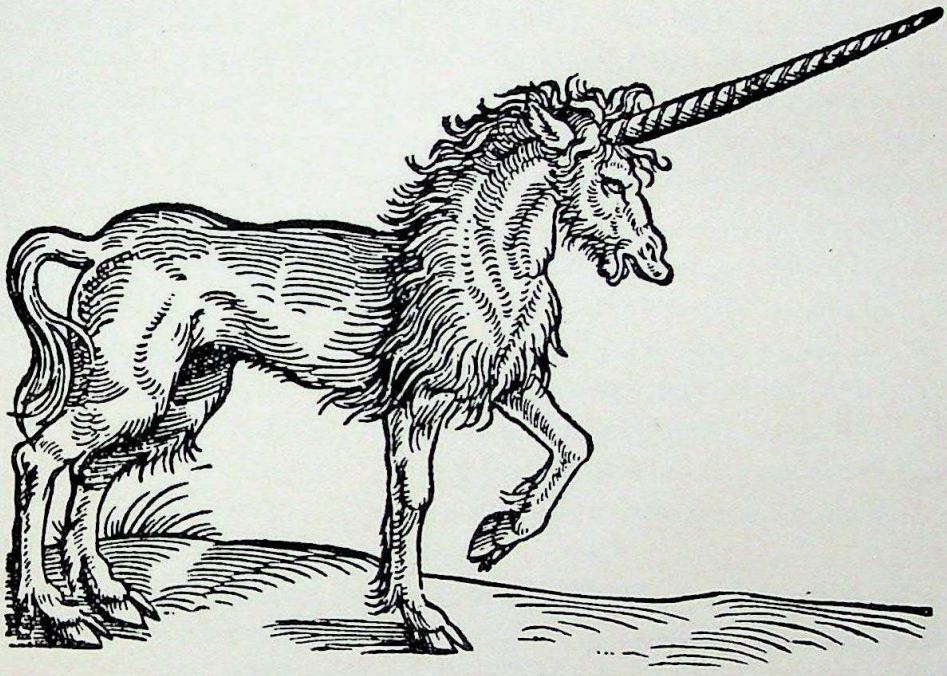

Fig. 1 (Mediaeval book of animals) : The Unicorn

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We will now follow theoretic reasonings and show how strangely a Buddhist narrative has influenced the image of a legendary animal of the middle ages. We will try to show that this legendary animal, inspite of having his origin in the Greek literature, developed a certain feature which could hardly be traced back to Greek literary sources and hence has to be derived from a corresponding Buddhist narrative. We will further show that this Buddhist narrative has traits which are unmotivated and therefore presuppose a foreign origin. With the help of a Jain narrative as a connecting link, we shall arrive at the origin of the legend in an episode in the Gilgamesh epic of Babylon.

We shall proceed from the image of the unicorn[1] in the middle ages, an animal conceived from the world of unreality but taking a definite shape in our imagination. His picture is familiar to us from fairy tales and heraldic figures. His body is slim but strong. He is half horse, half wild donkey and has one pointed horn in the middle of his forehead (Fig. 1). [2] His nature is as noble as his body. He is proud, chaste, solitary, freedom loving, daring and untamable. He can be captured with trickery only. In the German fairy tale of the brave tailor, the angry animal is captured when he sticks his horn in the tree while chasing the tailor who jumps behind the tree at the last moment. Even English fairy tales know of this trick and Shakespeare alludes to it in his Julius Caesar "...for he loves to hear that unicorns may be betrayed with trees." We come across this catch theme earlier in Father John's letter to the Emperor of Rome and King of France. Here a lion is looking for cover behind a tree when chased by a unicorn. The unicorn's horn gets stuck in the tree and the defenceless animal falls prey to the lion.

The reports of the unicorn go back to the Greek classics. The oldest reference to a single horned animal is given by the Greek doctor Ktesias who lived at the court of the Achameneden King Artaxerxes II in four hundred B.C. Ktesias wrote that there were wild asses in India which were as big as horses and which were so fast and strong that no animal could overtake them. They had a horn of one and a half feet length on their foreheads. Pulverised, this horn was supposed to be a remedy for poison. A drinking cup, made of the horn was supposed to protect its owner from cramps and epilepsy [3]. With slight modifications this description is found throughout the Greek literature and is often repeated by medieval authors. The alleged therapeutic power of the

1. The literary records about the unicorn in the medieval literature are collected by C. Cohn : Zur literarischen Geschichte des Einhorns, Part 1, Schulprogramm 11. Städt Realschule zu Berlin 1836; Part 2, Schulprogramm 1897.

2. Conr. Gesneri Medici Tigurini Historiae Animalium, Liber Primus, Francofurti 1551, p. 781.

3. Ktesias, Indica in Photii Biblioteca LXXII ed. I. Bekker, Berlin 1824, p. 48.

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horn is responsible for the numerous chemist's shops which are named after the unicorn. The long and pointed tusks of the narwhal were mistaken to be unicorn horns. They were framed in gold and silver and made into drinking cups.[1] When the narwhal tusks were recognised as such, the three meter long fossils of mammoth tusks were still considered genuine unicorn horns — unicornu verum. Prehistoric caves were ransacked and innumerable mammoth tusks were pulverised in the chemist's mortars. The belief in the healing power of the horn was a logical inference from the physical strength of the animal which by some magic seemed to have gone into the horn. All the characteristics of the unicorn described by the Greek writers can be organically derived from its preconceived image. His boldness and strength make him a royal animal and hence he is the natural enemy of the lion. His solitary and wild behaviour even towards his own mate mentioned by Aelian[2] results from his sovereign nature which tolerates no equally strong second. The unicorn, however, did not originate in India as Ktesias believed. There is no animal in the Indian mythology or natural science to which Ktesias' description could be even remotely applicable. Hence it has been suggested that the reliefs of the bulls at the Royal place of Persepolis inspired Ktesias' description of the Indian unicorn. These reliefs actually show the bulls in profile so that only one of the two horns is visible.

Apart from the scriptures on natural history the unicorn has not played any important role in the Greek classics. It has not inspired art and literature. Howeves, things changed in the middle ages. Due to its Indian origin mentioned by Ktesias, the unicorn was introduced in the Alexander-novel. Pastor Lamprecht narrates in his epos of Alexander[3] that Queen Kandakis presented to Alexander a unicorn. One could thus be inclined to consider the interest in the unicorn not different from the people's general interest in those fabulous creatures which in medievel imagination inhabited the wonderland India.[4] The facts on India reported by the classical writers became in the middle ages overgrown through creations of a fertile fancy nourished by the dim sources of the Alexander-novel and the St. Thomas tradition. Men with dog's heads; headless beings with eyes at their shoulders; one legged creatures whose foot also served as a canopy; creatures with massive ears which they used as a cover

1. See G. Schönberger : Narwal-Einhorn, Studien über einen seltenen Werkstoff, Städel-Jahrbuch 9, 1935/36, p. 167–247.

2. Aelian, De nat. anim. 4, 52.

3. Ed. H. Weismann, Frankfurt 1850, Z. 5427 ff.

4. See H. Gregor : Das Indienbild des Abendlandes bis zum Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts. Diss. phil. Vienna 1964,

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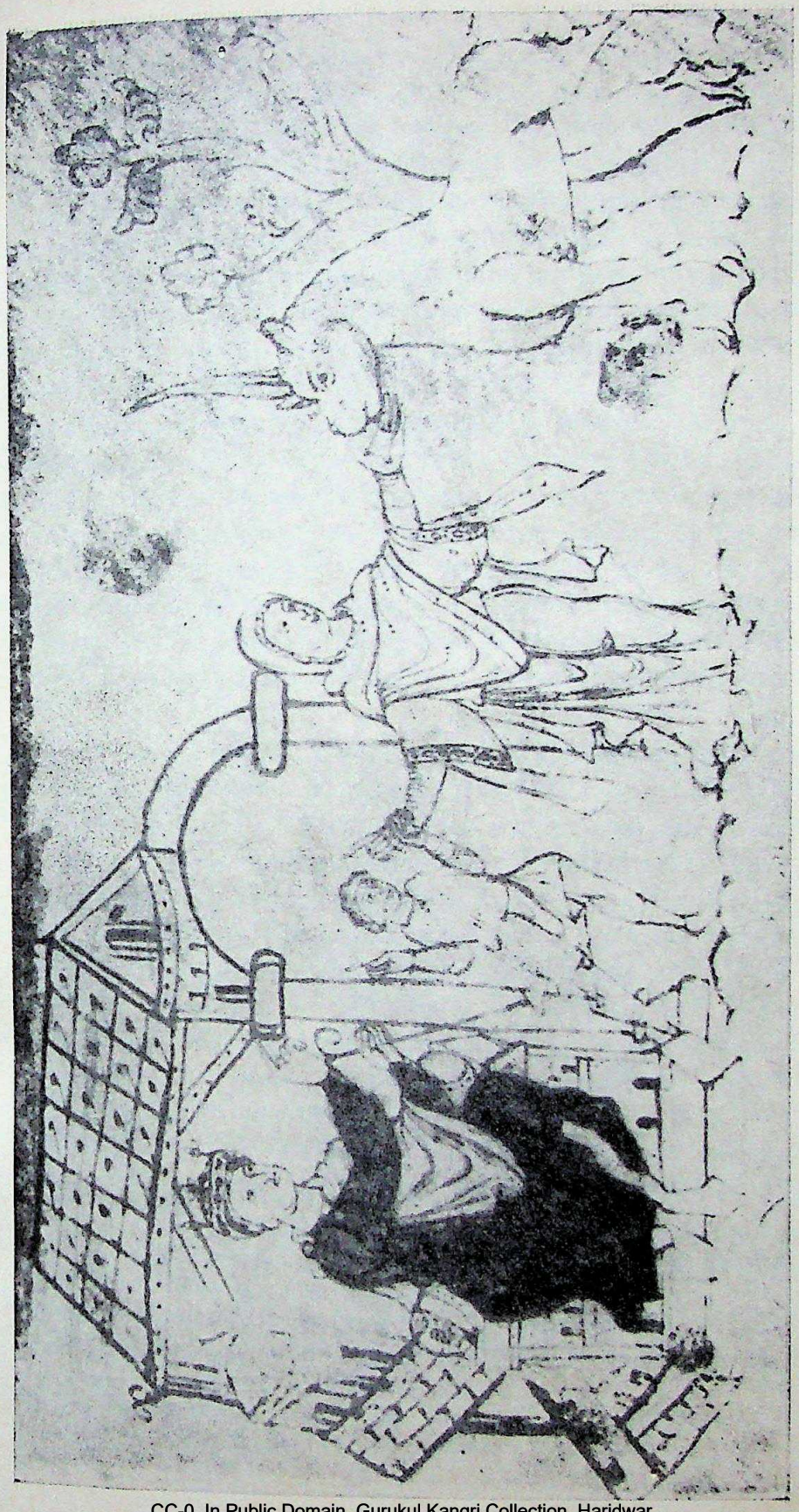

Fig. 2 (Mediaeval Physiologus-Ms.) : The Virgin conducts the Unicorn to the king

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during the night; mouthless beings who fed themselves on the smell of the jungle fruits; red, black, white and golden snakes; black gold-digging ants of the height and shape of small dogs; none of these freaks show any remote connection with the creations of the Indian legend and mythology. As we have already noted, even the unicorn does not have its origin in the Indian tradition. One feature of the unicorn tradition, however, is of Indian origin, and just this feature procured the unicorn an eminent position among the legendary creatures of the middle ages : the unicorn, however wild and untamable it may be, becomes tame in front of a pure virgin, and putting his head in her lap, allows himself to be captured.

The symbolic interpretation of this feature is evident. Mary is the pure virgin and the unicorn lying in her lap is her son Jesus Christ. This religious interpretation could not completely push in the background the original erotic meaning. Poets have glorified the taming of the unicorn by the virgin as a symbol of love. The minnesinger himself represents the unicorn who surrenders all wildness in front of his beloved one and is tamed by her chastity. It would be a challenging task to trace the image and the transformations of the unicorn symbol [1] through the centuries. However, we shall deal here with its origin only.

The various allusions to the unicorn in the middle ages go back without any exception to an animal book written in Alexandria in the early Christian era under the title "Physiologus". This book describes the behaviour of about fifty animals and interpretes them in Christian manner as symbols. [2] Physiologus' report on the unicorn corresponds to the data given by the classical writers, namely that he is wild and untamable. Then he describes the ways and means to catch him. A pure virgin is taken to him. The animal jumps in her lap. She captures him and he follows her to the king's palace (Fig. 2) [3]. Then follows the interpretation of Christ and the Virgin Mary [4]. As the motive of a virgin capturing the unicorn is introduced here for the first time, the question arises as to the source of this strange theme. As mentioned above, all the qualities which the classical authors ascribe to the unicorn, could be explained by his very nature. Some scholars tried to find a similar explanation even for this

1. A dissertation recently published has treated this subject in an excellent manner; J. Einhorn : Spiritalis Unicornis, Das Einhorn als Bedeutungsträger in Literatur und darstellender Kunst des Mittelalters, Diss. phil. Kiel 1970.

2. See F. Lauchert : Geschichte des Physiologus, Strassbourg 1889; M. Wellmann : Der Physiologus, Eine religionsgeschichtlich-naturwissenschaftliche Untersuchung, Philologus, Supplement vol. 22, Book 1, Leipzig 1930.

3. Bibliotheque Royale Albert Ier, Bruxelles Ms. 10066–77, p. 147 recto.

4. See F. Lauchert, op. cit, p. 22–24 (text p. 254).

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peculiar feature. As Aelian reported that while the unicorn was wild even against his own species, he was tame, when on heat before a female. Friedrich Lauchert, the editor of Physiologus, believed that the report of Aelian was the source of Physiologus' statement. It is needless to say that it would be quite wrong to compare the capture by a pure virgin to becoming tame before the female which has quite another purpose. Carl Cohn, therefore, presumed that some oriental story must be the origin. He wrote in 1896 [1] that till then no tale had been found which could be proved to contain the basis of the Physiologus story. Cohn of course did not know that in the same year, the eminent Asian research scholar F. W. K. Müller had already traced its Indian origin.[2] Even Heinrich Lüders who dealt with the same theme [3] a year later, overlooked the work of F. W. K. Müller. Lüders like Müller derived the Physiologus story from a Buddhist narrative. As this derivation met later on with serious opposition, we shall examine it here once again.

We have the good fortune to find the unicorn narrative in the Indian literature not only in one but in many versions. We shall deal with the rather complicated relationship of the individual versions to each other in as much only as it is necessary for understanding the legend's origin and its migration to the West. Four of the Buddhist versions are preserved in Indian languages — one in Pāli, one in hybrid and two in pure Sanskrit. The Pāli version is given in the Jātaka book [4] yet to be discussed and the hybrid Sanskrit version in the Mahāvastu, [5] a Vinaya text belonging to the Mahāsāṃghika School. Both of

1. See above, p. 295, 2

2. F. W. K. Müller : Ikkaku senin, Eine mittelalterliche japanische Oper, nebst einem Exkurs zur Einhornsage, Festschrift für A. Bastian, Berlin 1896 p. 515–37. The Sinologist Samuel Beal was the first scholar who pointed out the relation of the Indian legend to the mediaeval unicorn myth; cf. his book : The Romantic Legend of Sākya Buddha, London 1875, p. 124, Note 2 : "The connection of this myth with the mediaeval story of the Unicorn being capable of capture only by a chaste maiden is too evident to require proof".

3. H. Lüders . Die Sage von Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, Nachrichten der Göttinger Gelehrten Ges., Phil.-hist. Kl. 1897, p. 87–135 = Philologica Indica, Göttingen 1940, p. 1–43; Zur Sage von Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, Nachrichten der Göttinger Gelehrten Ges., Phil.-hist. Kl. 1901, p. 28–56 = Phil. Ind. p. 47–73: J. Takakusu : The Story of the Ṛṣi, Ekaśṛṅga, The Hansei Zasshi (afterwards : The Orient) vol. XIII, Tokyo 1898, p. 10–18. Along with Lüders, L. Wehrhahn-Stauch deals with the Indian Pre-History of the Capture of the Unicorn in the article "Einhorn" in the Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte VI, Stuttgart1 958, 1504–44.

4. Jātaka, ed. Fausbll. No. 526 (Vol. V. p. 193–309).

5. Mahāvastu, publ. E. Senart, Paris 1882–97, Vol. III, p. 143–52 : nalinīye rājakumārīye jātakam. English Translation by J. J. Jones, The Mahāvastu, London 1956, Vol. III, p. 136–47.

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the Sanskrit versions [1] belong to relatively late collections of Buddhist narratives. Another version from the canonical literature of the Mūlasarvāstivāda School [2] is found in Tibetan translation. In Chinese translation there exists an adaptation of the legend by the famous Buddhist philosopher Nāgārjuna [3] as well as another similar version[4]. Among the numerous allusions to the legend in Buddhist literature, the one by poet Aśvaghoṣa [5] is worth mentioning. Like the Buddhists, Brahmins too have narrated this story. Their different versions are found in both the epic Rāmāyaṇa [6] and Mahābhârata [7] and in the Padmapuraṇa.[8] As the time of origin of none of these books can definitely be fixed only internal criterions can give information on the relationship of the different versions to each other.

We have to start with the form in which the story is handed down in the Buddhist Jātaka. The Jātaka is a collection of about 500 narratives in prose and verse which relate the events in the previous lives of the Buddha. The verses belong to ca. 500 B.C. while the prose was added a thousand years later. The Jātaka in verse is the oldest collection of Indian tales. The story in question tells us, beginning in prose, about an ascetic named Gazellehorn born

1. (1) Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā of Kṣemendra No. 65 (ed. P. L. Vaidya vol. II, Budhist Sanskrit Texts No. 23, p. 411–20); English Translation in the Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of India, Calcutta 1893, I, part 2, p. 1–12.
(2) Bhadrakalpāvadāna, No. 33 (available in different manuscripts; compare C. Bendall, Cat. of Buddh. Skt. Mss. in the Univ. Libr. Cambridge, 1883, Add. 1411; Rājendralāla Mitra, The Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal, Calcutta 1882, No. B. 40).

2. Kandjur IV, Dulva, Fols. 136–37 (= Chin. T 1450. k 12, p. 161 a–c); German Translation by A. von Schiefner, Mélanges Asiatiques, St. Petersburg 1881, VIII, p. 112–116; English Translation in A. von Schiefner : Tibetan Tales, derived from Indian Sources, done into English from the German by W. R. S. Ralston, London 1882, No. 15 (p. 253–56).

3. English Translation by J. Takakusu, op. cit.; French Translation of Nāgārjuna's Mahāprajñā-pāramitāśāstra by E. Lamotte; Le Traite de la Grande Vertu de Sagesse, Vol. II, Louvain 1949.

4. French Translation by E. Chavannes, Cinq Centes et Apologues, T III, Paris 1911, No. 451, p. 230–37.

5. Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita, transl. E. B. Cowell, Sacred Books of the East, vol. 49, IV, 18 : "so Śāntā by her various wiles captivated and subdued the sage's son Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, unskilled in women's ways".

6. Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa, Crit. ed., vol. 1 Bālakāṇḍa, Baroda 1960, Sarga 8–10.

7. Mahābhārata, Āraṇyakaparvan, Crit. ed. Vol. 3, Poona 1942, 3. 110. 1–3. 113. 25; English Translation of the Ṛṣyaśṛṅgopākhyāna in Journal of the Buddhist Text Society of India, I, part 2, Appendix I, p. 1–10.

8. Padmapurāṇa, beng. rez. published by Lüders, op. cit., p. 7–11.

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as son of a brahmin hermit and a gazelle. Gazellehorn wears a horn on his forehead as an inheritance from his mother. The youngster grows up in solitude in the jungle, looked after by his father only. He practises strict asceticism. As usual when an ascetic acquires supernatural powers through mortification, the Gods feel insecure of their own power. They, therefore, inflict a drought on the land of the ascetic which can be averted only by breaking down the ascetic powers of Gazellehorn. The king commissions his daughter to do this. The narrative now continues in verse : The princess goes in her raft up the river Ganges to the brahmin's hermitage. She finds Gazellehorn there alone, the brahmin having gone out searching for food. The princess starts to play in front of the hut. The young boy who has never seen a female before, takes her to be an ascetic boy and calls out to her. In a confidential talk the simple youngster shows his surprise at the lack of certain physical marks on the body of his visitor, a fact being explained by her as a wound the pain of which could not be soothed by any medicine but only through a certain action of Gazellehorn. The ignorant boy out of compassion acts according to the instructions of the princess who after the seduction quickly flees the hermitage before the boy's father returns. Gazellehorn, still stunned by his experience, tells his father about the strange visitor and his own kindness. The old brahmin immediately sees through the whole story and instructs his son that people who wander around in the jungles were not ascetic boys but wicked demons with whom an ascetic must be on guard. Thus ends the story in the present text, the blunt humour of which could only be hinted at. The ending, however, is abrupt. This is not only proved by the parallel version but even by the verse-jātaka itself because when the king sends his daughter on her mission, he says unmistakably : "Go Naḷinikā, bring me the brahmin [1]".

According to all other versions, the boy is finally taken to the king's court. In the Tibetan and the Chinese versions, the drought is not inflicted by the gods out of fear of the supernatural powers of the ascetic boy but due to the cursing of the rain-god by the boy while slipping on the rain-wet ground and thereby breaking his pot. In the Mahāvastu, however, the cause of the drought is missing at all. Here the king has brought the ascetic boy to his court because he has no son and is looking for a husband for his daughter. The young boy's name is not Gazellehorn (Ṛṣyaśṛṅga) but Unicorn (Ekaśṛṅga). The crude erotic of the old story is softened here (as in the Tibetan version). The boy is not seduced by the king's daughter at her first visit but only enticed with sweets by her and her playmates and finally taken to the king's palace on a ship. After his marriage with the princess, the difference between

1. Jātaka V, p. 194 : ehi Naḷinike gaccha, tam me brāhmaṇam ānayā 'ti.

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the two sexes is explained to him in a rather complicated manner. It must have been the older version of this form of the story which reached the West and served as a basis for the Physiologus. In the second century A. D. when Physiologus was written, the commercial relations between India and the West were brisk and the possibility of a mutual fertilisation cannot be overruled. Actually some more Indian themes can be found in Physiologus. [1] An Indian conception is behind Physiologus' statement that pearls are nothing but stiffened dew drops in a mussel. Another statement about sailors who consider a whale an island, lit fire on its back and were drowned when it dived, also goes back to an Indian fairy tale. Hence the Indian origin of the unicorn theme is quite possible.

In spite of this, Heinrich Günter, an eminent research scholar on legends protested in his book "Buddha in the Western Legend?" [2] against deriving the unicorn legend from the Buddhist narrative. Unfortunately, when quoting from this book, the question mark which indicates the nature and value of Günter's work is mostly overlooked. By Günter's convincing analysis most of the pretended Buddhist sources of the Christian legends are proved to be illusory. In our case, however, Günter's otherwise wholesome criticism is failing. His first argument that the unicorn in Physiologus is a real animal while in India it is a name only which in most versions is not even Unicorn but Gazellehorn, can easily be contradicted. The Buddhist versions, particularly those which had perhaps taken the narrative to the West, do not call the young man Gazellehorn but Unicorn. Contemporary artistic representations prove that Gazellehorn or Unicorn could never deny his origin from a gazelle on his mother's side as he always wears a horn on his forehead. Hence it was easy for Physiologus to identify the half animal jungleman Unicorn with the animal unicorn known from the Greek classics. Günter's second objection concerns the female figure. The pure virgin symbol of Mary on the one hand and the cunning seductress who has no claim to virginity on the other. Günter, unfamiliar with the ancient Indian customs, has thoroughly misunderstood the story. According to Indian tradition the seduction may establish a legitime matrimony which is called a Gandharva marriage, a marriage without ceremonies, sealed through the sexual union of the partners. As Paul Thieme [3] has pointed out recently,

1. See J. Charpentier : Kleine Bemerkungen zum Physiologus, Aufsätze zur Kultur- und Sprachgeschichte vornehmlich des Orients, Ernst Kuhn zum 70. Geb. gewidmet, Munich 1916, p. 280–93.

2. H. Günter : Buddha in der abendländischen Legende ? Leipzig 1922.

3. P. Thieme : 'Jungfrauengatte', Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung, Vol. 78, Göttingen 1963, p. 161–248.

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the bride in such a marriage must be a virgin and under the guardianship of her father. As these conditions are fulfilled here, Physiologus has not created the theme of virginity but only taken it over from the Buddhist legend.

Thus the problem of the origin of the unicorn–and–virgin motive in the middle ages may be considered as finally settled. However, the question of the origin of the Indian story is still a problem. While looking for the original meaning of the story we are faced with serious problems. Why should an ascetic boy be seduced by the king's daughter and then be taken to the king's court ? The drought theme[1] is obviously secondary because the seduction was enough to deprive the ascetic of his supernatural powers over the rain. Bringing the boy to the king's court, an important part of the story even in the oldest version, cannot be held necessary in any way for breaking the rain spell. As already mentioned, the compilator of the Mahāvastu had felt the insufficient reasoning of this argument and consequently left out the drought theme completely. According to him the king orders the abduction of the boy because he had no son and was looking for a husband for his daughter and a successor to his throne. The idea, however, that the king of a powerful empire should choose an inexperienced jungleman as his son-in-law seems rather strange. The statement of the author of the Mahāvastu that the boy was of royal blood on the father's side gives hardly more credit to this idea.

Apart from the insufficient reasoning for the seduction, the figure of the seductress establishes a further problem. As hitherto stated, the virgin daughter of the king brought the ascetic to the palace. This is not found in all the versions. The princess is the seductress in the Pāli prose, the Buddhist Sanskrit versions and the Tibetan translation. The Chinese translations and brahmin versions on the other hand have a courtesan as the seductress. Lüders has proved that the princess was originally the seductress even in two of the three brahmin versions. Later commentators made these two versions uniform with the third brahmin text by substituting the princess with a courtesan. Lüders, therefore, presumed that the version with the princess was the original one. A proof of this supposition, however, is not possible. Certainly both the versions existed side by side for some time. Whether in the original one the seductress was a princess or a courtesan cannot be decided on the basis of the available texts. The verse-Jātaka as the oldest extant version does not give any hint as to the rank of the lady whom the king sent out. She could have been his daughter in conformity with the later Buddhist Sanskrit tradition; she could just as

1. The motive of the rainspell is discussed by J. Przyluski : La légende de Ṛṣyśṛṅga, Journal Asiatique, Vol. 214, Paris 1929, p. 328–37.

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well have been a courtesan as in the Chinese and the Brahmin tradition. As we have no textual proof, we must seek the reason which should have affected a change in the original version. If originally the seductress was the king's daughter, why should she have been substituted by a courtesan ? M. Winternitz believed that while treating the story, any commentator was scandalised by seeing a princess playing the part of a seductress. [1] This argument is not very convincing. For a brahmin in ancient India the union with a courtesan, a person of lower birth meant a bigger offence than the union with a king's daughter leading to matrimony. On the other hand, if in the original version a courtesan was the seductress, the Buddhists had a very obvious reason to replace her with a king's daughter. The Buddhists interpreted this story as a Jātaka, an event from one of the previous lives of the Buddha. The young ascetic was identified with the Buddha and his mate accordingly with his wife. Thus the seductress could not very well be a courtesan but had to be of royal blood like the wife of the Buddha. Thus the balance tilts in favour of the possibility that in the original version of the story the seductress of the ascetic was a courtesan whom the Buddhists later substituted with the king's daughter.

Hence a new light is thrown on the observation made fifty years ago by Edward Lehmann, the scholar of History of Religions. Lehmann has given to Hugo Grassmann, an Old Testament scholar, a hint as to the similarity of the Gazellehorn story with the so called Hierodule episode of the Gilgamesh epic. [2] Neither Lehmann nor Grassmann thought of it more than an incidental similarity. At first Peter Jensen. the translator of Gilgamesh who singlehandedly wanted to derive all the spiritual values of the Orient and the Occident from Babylonian culture, affirmed the dependency of the Indian story on the Gilgamesh Epic. The first tablets of the Gilgamesh epic deal with Enkidu, the wild jungleman whom Gilgamesh wanted to win over as his friend. Enkidu grew up with the beasts of the steppes. His body was completely covered with hair and the hair of his head was like that of a woman. Thus he grazed with the gazelles and drank water with the wild beasts. A whore of the Ishtar temple was sent to seduce him : "The whore sees the wild man, bares her breasts and opens her lap. He revels in her lust. She is not shy. She tolerates his

1 M. Winternitz : Geschichte der indischen Literatur, Vol. 1, Leipzig 1908, p. 344, n. 2 : "All later rhapsodists or copyists found it morally offensive that a king's daughter should have seduced Ṛṣyśṛṅga and has subtituted a courtesan in her place".

2. See A. Ungnad and H. Grassmann : Das Gilgamesch-Epos, Forschungen z. Rel. u. Lit. des. A. u. Nt. 14, p. 528; P. Jensen in Zeitschr. d. Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellschaft, Vol. 67, 1913, p. 528. See also F. W. Albright in Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 40, 1920, p. 329–30.

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breath and performs for him the work of a woman. When his greed is satisfied, he has forgotten the place where he was born. He lifts his face towards the wild beasts. When the gazelles saw Enkidu, they ran away and the wild beasts abandoned him. The whore speaks to Enkidu : Come I will take you to Urukgart, to the gleaming temple, the residence of Anu and Ishtar where Gilgamesh lives. Enkidu speaks to her : Come, woman take me along to the gleaming temple, the residence of Anu and Ishtar where Gilgamesh lives". Thus the whore took him to the city and taught him ways and customs of mankind : "When they placed food before him, he becomes anxious and stares. He does not know how to eat bread or drink wine. The girl opens her mouth and speaks to Enkidu : Enkidu, eat bread. This is life. Drink wine as is customary in our country. Enkidu eats bread till he is full and drinks seven pots of wine. His mind becomes clear and serene. His heart rejoices and his face becomes clear. He washes his hairy body with water, massages himself with oil and becomes a human being. He puts on a robe and looks like a man. Then Enkidu met Gilgamesh. They measuresd their strength in a duel, then kissed each other and became friends". [1]

When we compare the Gazellehorn story with this episode of the Gilgamesh epic, the similarity is quite evident, particularly if we start with the supposition that a courtesan was originally the seductress in the Indian narrative and not a virgin. However, the Indian narrative lacks the reason for the abduction of the jungleman to the city and for his subsequent civilisation and friendship with the king. Therefore we will deal with another Indian tale handed down by the Jains [2] which has its origin in an old collection of tales now lost. The Jain narrative may be regarded as a version of the Gazellehorn-Unicorn story with reservation only because here the boy has a different name. Otherwise similarities are so obvious that it can be easily said that this too came from the same source. A boy Valkalacīrin lives in a hermitage with his father who is not a brahmin ascetic but an abdicated king. On growing old, he had handed over the reign of his kingdom to his eldest son and had taken up his abode in the jungle with his wife. The queen died after the birth of her son Valkalacīrin. Hence the boy has grown up in the solitude of the jungle educated by only his father. He has never seen a female. However, his brother, the reigning king of the country is longing for him. He sends courtesans to the hermitage who infatuate the boy with female charm and sweets. They

1. Das Gilgamesch-Epos, German translation by A. Schott (Reclam).

2. Vasudevahiṇḍi, p. 16–20; Norwegian translation by S. Konow : En bunt Indiske Eventyr, Oslo 1946, p. 20–23; see also Pariśiṣṭaparvan, ed. H. Jacobi, Calcutta 1891, I. p. 90–258.

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make their escape before the father returns. Valkalacīrin goes in search of the so-called ascetics and finally reaches the city of the king. He arrives at the house of the courtesans and is washed and dressed by them. Finally his brother, the king finds him, receives him with great joy and gives him in marriage.

Here we have a version where the abduction to the city is well motivated. The king allures the jungleman to win him over as brother and friend. This exactly is the motive in the Enkidu episode of the Gilgamesh epic. Therefore, without being blamed for a superficial identification, we can say that the hypothesis of the correspondence of the Indian tale to the Gilgamesh epic is highly probable. Now we can see before us the complete path which a theme of a narrative has taken from the oldest culture of mankind right to the end of the middle ages. The wild jungleman of the Babylonian epic who lived with the gazelles was taken to the king's city by a courtesan in order to make him the friend of the king. Similar was the case of the Indian ascetic boy whom the Buddhist called Unicorn and whose seductress was no longer a courtesan but a virgin princess. Psysiologus identified the unicorn of the Greek tradition with the Indian ascetic boy Unicorn and thus added to the Greek unicorn myth the theme of the abduction by the virgin. This finally was symbolised as the capture of the Saviour in the Virgin Mary's lap, a symbol which enriched the Occidental Art with a highly romantic theme.

The Buddhist art represented the legend of the boy Unicorn in various forms. Among the reliefs which were supposed to belong to this story[1], only those have any claim to authenticity where the ascetic is actually shown with a horn. The scenes where an acetic is seen with women could represent any one of the innumerable stories on ascetics of the Buddhist literature. There are only four reliefs which unequivocally relate to the Gazellehorn story, namely the medallion from the railing of the Bharhut stūpa[2], a relief fragment from Gandhāra[3], the right end of the lowest architrave of the northern gateway of the main Sāñci stūpa[4] and finally a railing from Bhutesvara in the Mathurā museum.[5]

1. See K. Fischer : Old Indian Terracottas and Contemporary Art, Roopa-Lekhā, An Illustrated Bi-Annual Art Journal, Vol. XXV, 1954, p. 26–42.

2. A. Cunningham : The Stūpa of Bharhut, London 1879, pl. XXVI.

3. A Foucher : Les Représentations de Jātaka dans l'Art Bouddhique Memoires concernant l'Asie Orientale, T. III, Paris 1919, Pl. IV, 3; N. G. Mazumdar : A guide to the sculptures in the Indian Museum Calcutta, Delhi 1937, p. 35.

4. J. Marshall and A. Foucher : The Monuments of Sanchi, Vol. 1, p. 225; Vol. 2, XIX-XXI and XXVII.

5. J. Ph. Vogel : La sculpture de Mathura, Ars Asiatica 15, 1930, pl. XXd; V. S. Agrawala ; Handbook of the sculptures of the Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Muttra, Allahabad 1939, p. 42.

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Only the last of the four reliefs presents the actual seduction, while the first three deal with the earlier part of the unicorn story. The Bharhut medallion (Fig. 3) combines three scenes. In the lower part we see Gazellehorn's father at a pond performing a human function while a gazelle is drinking water from the same pond and is thus becoming pregnant. This scene in the same order of figures can be seen in the Gandhāra relief (Fig. 4). The Bharhut medallion represents the next scene in the middle showing the birth of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga by the gazelle and his reception by his father. The hut and the pots hanging on a thong indicate the scenery of a hermitage. On the top right may be seen the third scene. The grown-up Gazellehorn wearing a hermit's clothes and bearing a horn on his forehead, is holding a pot which seems to be slipping from his hands. This could only relate to the episode handed down to us in different versions in which the young ascetic slips on the rain-wet ground, breaking his pot and cursing the rain-god. The Sāñci relief (Fig. 5) represents only the second of the three Bhārhut scenes, namely the birth of Gazellehorn and his reception by his father. However, discrete allusion takes the place of crude realism. On the right, the boy is seen taking a bath in the pond evidently after his birth. On the left, he is paying reverence to his father. The scenery consists of the usual hermit's hut and a fire hut amidst of an exotic vegetation with numerous animals. The Mathurā railing pillar (Fig. 6) represents the seduction of the ascetic boy in three scenes. The top picture shows four women in a boat on the river leading to the hermitage. In the picture below, one of the women, namely the seductress, sits together with the horned hermit in the hermitage which is indicated by two gazelles. The lowest picture finally shows the horned hermit sitting on the woman's lap. Hence here we have a representation of the old form of the legend in which the sexual seduction of a native boy plays an important role.

A wall painting from one of the Buddhist caves at Ajanta[1] not yet identified as a representation of the unicorn legend may be compared with these reliefs. In cave XVI the main hall is known to be painted with scenes from the last life of the Buddha while the front corridor represents stories from his previous lives. The painting on the left side wall of this front corridor shows the scenery of a rivulet with banana trees on its banks. This rivulet is painted as flowing through the whole fresco and continuing on the adjoining pilaster to the right which separates the front corridor from the main hall. In the river painted on this pilaster four persons may be recognised, who are standing knee deep in the water : To the left a woman on the lean bow of a narrow boat,

1. G. Yazdani : Ajanta, The Colour and Monochrome Reproductions of the Ajanta Frescoes Based on Photography, Part III, 1946, Pl. Lt. (Text p. 48f.).

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Fig. 3 (Bharhut) : 'Isisiṃgajātaka', Conception (below), Birth (middle), Cursing of the Rain-God (above left)

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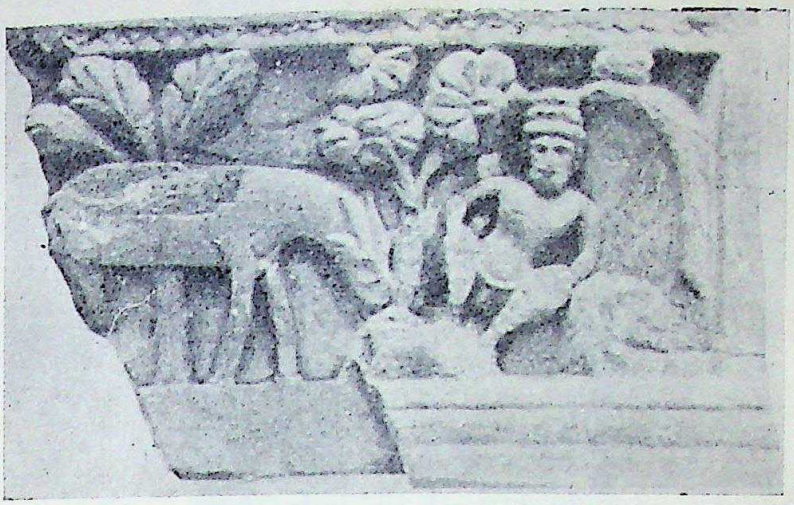

Fig. 4 (Gandhāra) : The Conception

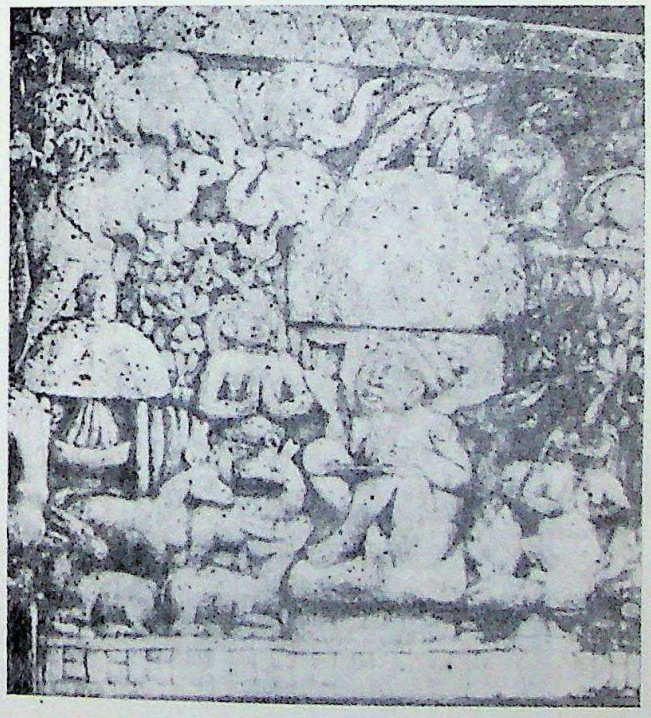

Fig. 5 (Sāñcī) : Bath (to the right), Presentation to the father (middle)

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Fig. 6 (Mathurā) : Women going by ship to the hermitage (above), Conversation with the seductress (middle), Seduction (below)

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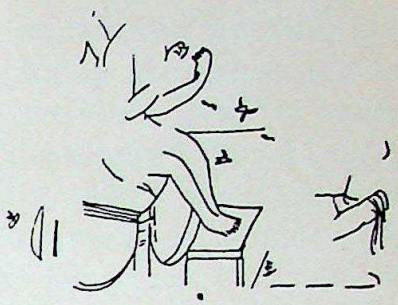
Fig. 7 (Ajanta, Front corridor of Cave 16) :
The Ṛṣyaśṛṅga-Jātaka (Mūlasarvāstivādin-Vinaya)

Second scene (?) :
The youth instructed by his father



Third (?) scene :
The youth allured by the princess and her retinue

Last scene (?) :
The youth in the palace of the king

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next to her on the right two more women and a boy. The woman standing nearest to the boy is holding an oval object towards which the other woman and the boy are looking intently. As a second boy can be seen in the scenes painted on the left side wall, it was presumed that both paintings represent scenes from the life of the boy Mahosadha.[1] Mahosadha is a witty young man who knows the answer to a number of tricky legal problems and who therefore is appointed a minister by the king. Our picture was supposed to represent one of these legal decisions, namely the story of the disputed thread ball, well known even in the European literature. In this story, while a woman is taking a bath another women steals her thread ball. The boy settles the dispute by finding out the rightful owner. He asks both of them to name the object on which the thread was rolled. The woman who names the wrong object, is exposed as the thief. The hypothesis that the painting under discussion forms a representation of this Mahosadha-story provides no explanation for the third woman and the boat. The main argument against this hypothesis, however, is the fact that the boy taken to be Mahosadha is not at all identical with the boy on the left side wall who is supposed to be Mahosadha too. The boy there is wearing a cap while the boy here is bare headed. His head is completely shaven except for a tuft of hair which shows him to be a brahmacārī. Besides this tuft of hair, the head shows another strange looking growth, namely a coiled pointed protuberance on the forehead which could only be explained as being a horn. The horn on the forehead definitely proves our identification of this painting as a representation of the unicorn legend. The scene under discussion shows the women having arrived with their boat at the residence of the hermit in order to abduct the boy. According to the version given in the Tibetan vinaya, the king's daughter does not meet the boy alone but allures him with sweets with the help of her playmates. The rather damaged picture above shows a person sitting on a chair resting his foot on a footstool. He seems to give instructions to the person sitting on the floor to his right. According to the story this should be the episode where the old hermit advises his son Unicorn not to receive wandering hermits as guests. Below the abduction scene we may discern a palace gateway and below this gateway, presumably in the palace courtyard, the traces of a stilted throne at the feet of which two maid-servants are sitting. The person on the throne is no longer visible but we would not be far wrong in supposing that here the ascetic boy Ṛṣyaśṛṅga was painted elevated to the position of a crown prince.

1. See M. G. Dikshit in Transactions, Indian Hist. Congress, Vth Session, 1941, p. 567-69; ibid : An unidentified Jātaka Scene, Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. 29, 1943, p. 115–119.

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UPANIṢAD PHILOSOPHY AND EARLY BUDDHISM

BY

ULRICH SCHNEIDER (Freiburg)

There does not seem to be any reason for doubting the traditional view that Buddha attained supreme consciousness (bodhi) while still relatively young and that he died a very old man. His teaching, productive as it was, must thus have covered several decades. Nevertheless, we do not know for certain what he taught. The earliest Buddhist literature known to us dates from a much later period, probably as much as two centuries later, namely certain parts of the Pāli canon and corresponding texts in Sanskrit and Prākrit; these have however, only been conserved to a noticeable extent in the literature translated outside India.

In our quest for the teaching of Buddha as contained in the oldest Buddhist literature, we must restrict ourselves, if not exclusively, at least primarily to that part which expressly refers to the doctrine. These are the texts known as Sūtras. They consist of a covering tale informing the reader of the particular circumstances prompting the Buddha to comment on a certain part of his teaching, as well as the actual didactic text, usually in the form of a monologue or dialogue.

These Sūtras have been compiled in collections called Nikāya in Pāli and Āgama in Sanskrit. Apart from these there exist a considerable number of individual Sūtras handed down to us in Chinese — the only tradition of this part of the Buddhist canon which is of any importance apart from the Pāli texts.

A detailed comparison of the Āgamas and Nikāyas and, more important, of the individual parallel Sūtras, has still to be made. All the same, certain facts can already be stated. A preliminary survey, like the one by Paul Demiéville [1] may be summed up as follows : There are numerous differences between the various Chinese translations and the parallel texts in Pāli, both regarding the arrangement of the Sūtras within each collection as well as the details of the actual texts. These differences, however, are not very important and the essence of the teaching remains remarkably uniform.

Étienne Lamotte expresses the same opinion in his outstanding work

1. *Paul Demiéville,* L'Inde classique, Vol. 2 (Paris 1973) ss 2108 (= Bibliothèque de L'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Vol. 3).

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"Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien"[1], but also adds the following : "Conservés et transmit par les écoles, les sūtra ne constituent pas pour autant des documents d'école, mais l'héritage commun à toutes les sectes. Aussi l'accord entre āgama et nikāya sur un point de doctrine — tel celui de l'Anātman — est-il la meilleure, pour ne pas dire l'unique preuve de l'authenticité de ce dernier. Tout essai de reconstruction d'un bouddhisme "précanonique" s'écartant du consensus entre āgama et nikya ne peut aboutir qu'à des hypothèses subjectives". [2]

I feel unable to endorse Lamotte's opinion, although it is a view undoubtedly held by most scholars. Instead, I would like the following considerations to be borne in mind : parallels in Buddhist texts of different schools — particularly in point of doctrine — are in themselves not proof of a common origin. It is quite possible that these parallels have arisen in the course of later developments. A mere listing of features common to the different schools does not prove a common heritage. All the same, I do not feel that the attempt to go back to pre-canonical Buddhism is as futile as Lamotte considers it to be. The results obtained by comparison and analysis of parallel texts, using the retrogressive method, can be verified by reference to the history of pre-Buddhistic philosophy — in which field FRAUWALLNER [3] has done valuable research — and they are therefore much more conclusive. One can at least get to grips with the problem and this essay is — at least partly — an attempt to show my line of reasoning. I have tried to trace the line of development, right from the earliest stages of Indian philosophy which leads in my opinion directly to Buddhism. There are three stages in this development which I shall call "Natural Philosophy", "Metaphysics" and "Ethics".

The length of this period can only be guessed at, but one can scarcely go far wrong if one estimates this time as more, possibly even considerably more than a century. The beginning of this period — the dawn of Indian philosophy — would then fall in the 2nd half of the 7th century B.C., if not earlier, provided however, that Buddha's dates (he is said to have died as an octogenarian about 480 B.C.) have not been wrongly stated, i.e. put at too early a date. In this, admittedly highly unlikely case, the beginnings of Indian philosophy might even be put as early as the 6th century B.C. The upper limit cannot be determined at all. Despite these uncertainties, however, it can hardly be doubted that Indian philosophy originated either prior to or at least at the

1. *Étienne Lamotte*, Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien, Vol. 1 (Louvain 1958) p. 171 (= Bibliothèque du Muséon, Vol. 43).
2. Spaced typing by the author of this paper.
3. *Erich Frauwallner*, Geschichte der indischen Philosophie, Vol. 1 (Salzburg 1953) p. 39 ff.

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same time as Greek philosophy and therefore has to be judged according to its own criteria.

The first stage : Natural Philosaphy

The origin of this branch of Indian philosophy is clear in as much as it can with a fair measure of certainty be fitted into the general picture of India's religious and philosophical development. In any case I would consider it to represent the beginning of the decisive influence of rational thinking and the emancipation from the magic ritualism of the Brāhmaṇa period. [1] It expresses itself above all in the emphasis on knowledge.

No doubt, the ritualists also held knowledge in high esteem; however, their main point was — and still is — the knowledge of the ritual or, in a broader sense, of magic practices hy which means they believed they were able and perhaps were even required to assist and influence the course of nature. With the philosopheres it is quite different : their attempt to approach life from a rationalist viewpoint makes them reject the magical practices as useless and seek knowledge of quite a different order. They are primarily interested in the question of the principle of life : *what it is, where it comes from* and *where it goes to.* [2] And I have no hesitation in maintaining that they also hoped by answering this question or these questions — i.e. through understanding the principle of life — to be able to better adapt themselves to the course of the world and gain a favourable position in the cycle of rebirth. This objective, or rather its evolution into the thought of deliverance has always been borne in mind by Indian philosophers, although there is no demonstrable evidence of this in the Natural philosophy we are considering here. It is based on two things :

1. an egocentric approach
2. a cyclic aspect

We do not need to dwell on the egocentric approach. There is evidence, or at least some indication of it in the older Vedic religion. The earliest philosophers, however, deserve the credit of being the first to direct consequent attention to this problem. For them, man and, at least as far as it is a question of Natural philosophy, the human body, are the starting point and object of contemplation. They did not attach any importance to the outside world in itself but only where it related to man and his objectives. It is thus not to be wondered at that on the threshold of philosophy the Indians did not develop a cosmology in the strict sense of the word. Despite the evidence of cosmo-

1. *Ulrich Schneider,* Die altindische Lehre vom Kreislauf des Wassers, in : Saeculum 12 (1961) p. 6 f.
2. *Frauwallner,* op. cit. (p. 309 Note 3) p. 49.

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gonical myths from which a cosmology might have been developed it was impossible for them, given the particular nature of their approach, to view the universe in isolation to mankind.

However, it is not just cosmology that is meaningless in this philosophy, but any kind of cosmogony at all. The world is simply assumed to have existed through all eternity. The same is true of the animate world right down to the individual : birth and death are thus regarded not as unique occurrences but as a continuous process of eternal recurrence.

This brings us to the cyclic aspect which is an inalienable part of this philosophy. It therefore seems all the more astounding that unlike the egocentric approach there is no conclusive proof of this to be found in the still existing older Indian literature. It is evidently unknown in the cosmogonical texts, particularly in the Brāmaṇas, that have come down to us. At most one could argue that there are indications of it in the Soma ritual. If H. Lüders[1] is right, there is reference even in the ṚV, the most ancient collection of Indian texts, to the *ascent* of Soma (an intoxicating liquid used for ritual purposes). It could well be that the purpose of this ascent of Soma is to supply the sky with Soma, thus enabling it to fall down again in the form of rain. For it is quite certain that a rain magic existed in which Soma was identified with rain (see Lüders p. 248). If one interpretes this as the *descent* of Soma, the cycle is complete. There is certainly evidence of such a cycle, rain = Soma[2], in the Brāhmaṇa texts, sometimes even with other offerings than Soma.[3] If this ritual is older than the water cycle (which still has to be proved) it would indicate that the roots of this doctrine and thus the roots of India's cyclic approach are to be found here. For the time being we must accept the claim that Indian philosophy begins with this water cycle theory and thus marks the beginning of the cyclic approach.

The main features of the water cycle theory,[4] and we are familiar with little more than that, are quickly outlined : water in the form of rain falls from the sky onto the earth. This moisture revives the plants which contain it in the form of sap or juice. Man in turn assimilates it with his food, is thereby nourished and grows. In the act of procreation it constitutes the basis of new life in the form of the sperm which the man passes on to the woman. When a person dies and his body is burnt, it ascends to the sky once more in the form of smoke. Thus the cycle is complete. It only remains to be said that the place where

1. *Heinrich Lüders*, Varuṇa, Vol. 1 (Göttingen (1951) p. 207 ff.
2. *Jan Gonda*, Die Religionen Indiens, Vol. 1 (Stuttgart 1960) p. 65 f.
3. *Wilhelm Rau*, Staat und Gesellschaft im alten Indien (Wiesbaden 1957) p. 91.
4. cf. also *Frauwallner*, op cit. (p. 309, Note 3) p. 49–55; *Schneider*, op. cit. (p. 310, Note 1) p. 1–11.

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the water is collected is the moon; it is for this reason that it is continually filling and emptying itself.

In this theory man is already the pivoting point — he and only he marks the dividing of the water cycle, where on the one hand it leads to ever renewed procreation and birth, on the other hand it follows the path back to the sky. However, the turning to man as the cardinal point in contemplation, which is so characteristic of Indian philosophy, is finally effected only in the two following doctrines, the wind-breath and the fire doctrine.

Those two doctrines thus show an advance on the previous water cycle theory, but there is another, possibly even more remarkable advance in that they reduced this cycle, only just discovered and used in their philosophy, to two stations, as it were. With this they developed a line of thought which was later to prove capable of extraordinary development, namely the conception of a microcosm within a macrocosm.

The idea of microcosm-macrocosm is well-known in the history of religion. It really belongs to the realm of magic where it was obviously modelled on the ideas and practice of "simila similibus". In the case of analogue magic the step into the cosmic sphere is not all that rare. For instance, in one of the ṚV hymns to Soma (ṚV IX 96, 14)

we read :

> "Pour, hundred-streamed, winner of thousands, mighty at the Gods' banquet, pour the rain of heaven,
> While thou with rivers roarest in the beaker, and blent with milk prolongest our existence" [1]

which can only refer to a rain magic, where rain (macrocosm) is supposed to be induced by the drops of Soma (microcosm) that are pressed out of the stalks and trickle down. A very similar case is mentioned in the ṚV (V 6, 4) :

"God, Agni, we will kindle thee, rich in thy splendour, fading not. So that this glorious fuel may send forth by day its light for thee. Bring food for those who sing thy praise"

which is surely a sunrise magic : at the time of sunrise the priests light a fire (= Agni, the god of fire) at the place of sacrifice and by this ritual act (on the microcosmic plane) the sun (on the macrocosmic plane) is to be induced to catch fire (= to rise).

From such analogue magic raised to the cosmic level it is not a very big step to the practice mentioned in the Brāhmaṇa literature, namely of building a

1. For the translation of this and the following ṚV passage see *R. I. H. Griffith*, The Hymns of the Ṛgveda, Vol. I and II. The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Studies Vol. XXXV.

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world in miniature at the place of sacrifice, where the Soma was pressed and the fire lit, which corresponded to the real world. In fact, it had to correspond exactly since — according to this great analogue magic — everything carried out during the ritual had to produce corresponding results in real life. Thus these sacrificial rites became a force by which they thought they could shape the course of events.

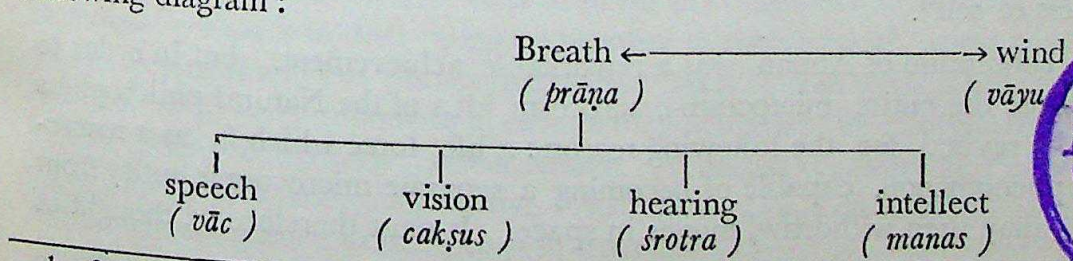
The philosophers no longer had that simple faith in the magic powers of the ritual. Nevertheless they held to the microcosm-macrocosm scheme with which they were obviously familiar and which they valued, but they had to invest it with a new meaning in keeping with their conception. They altered it in two respects :

1. The opposite to the macrocosm was no longer a man-made microcosm represented by the place of sacrifice, but man himself, and

2. The magic automatism which worked only in one direction (from microcosm to macrocosm) was replaced by a material correlation between man (= microcosm) and macrocosm, an eternal pendulum according to the cyclic conception.

So it would not be at all inconsistent to think that the Indian Natural philosophers imagined the macrocosm (= the universe) in the shape of a giant man, particularly since such notions were (and are) by no means extraneous to Indian mythology. This, however, does not seem to have been the case. At any rate, all that may be concluded from the texts is that the microcosm-macrocosm scheme was applied to the principle of life.

As far as the wind-breath theory is concerned [1], it distinguishes four vital forces : speech (*vāc*), vision (*cakṣus*), hearing (*śrotra*) and intellect (*manas*). These are subordinate to breath (*prāṇa*), which just like the wind (*vāyu*), is considered to be material. They enter into the individual whilst he is asleep and come out of him when he wakens up. The same occurs during birth and death, with the addition that in the case of death the breath becomes wind and in the case of birth wind becomes breath. This may be represented by the following diagram :



1. cf. *Frauwallner*, op. cit. (P. 309, Note 3) p. 55 ff; *Heinrich Lüders*, Philologica Indica (Göttingen 1940) p. 390,

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A microcosmic-macrocosmic correlation thus exists between breath and wind which are substantially the same. The emphasis, or at any rate, the starting point of observation is quite clearly on the microcosmic level : it is breath alone which is capable of emitting the four vital forces.

The wind-breath doctrine is as simple as it is ingenious. However, the underlying observation of breath as the only manifestation of life which does not leave the body till death, since it continues during sleep, did not seem absolutely convincing — this is shown by the fact that it was replaced and developed by another doctrine, the fire doctrine, originating in the observation of bodily heat. It certainly marks an advance on the previous doctrine since bodily heat remains in the body even longer than breath. This now leads to the conclusion that the principle of life was not breath resp. wind, but fire. Apart from that, the same correlation as was supposed to exist between breath and wind is now assumed to exist between the microcosmic and macrocosmic fire. The latter enters the human body through the rays of the sun which is thought of as the gateway to the heavenly fire or, more precisely, it enters the cavity of the heart through the veins of the human body and then returns the same way.

The details of this theory differ from the wind-breath doctrine but we need not worry about that. Important in this connection is that with the fire doctrine the line of development of Natural Philosophy has reached its culmination. Indian philosophers of a later period sought other means of probing the mystery of life.

The second stage : Metaphysics

In doing so they must have hit on the idea that the principle of life was not to be found in the material world at all. In other words, these philosophers began to abstract and came to the logical conclusion that there is something which in the last intance is inalienable and which, despite all resemblances that there may be between individuals (e.g. between father and son) causes each individual to be radically different. This is the Ātman (originally probably "wind" or "breath")[1], a term which can perhaps best be rendered by "consciousness of self".

The conception of Ātman was a remarkable achievement. But in order to make sense the entire microcosm-macrocosm idea of the Natural philosophers had to be revised for the following reason : a life force which is, as a macrocosmic phenomenon, capable of becoming a separate microcosmic entity from which it may then withdraw, moves in space. It must therefore be thought of

1. As e.g. in an old verse treating the wind-breath doctrine, JaimUpBr 3, 2, 4 ChāUp IV 3, 7.

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as material, as is the case with wind-breath and fire. But this is impossible where Ātman is concerned. Being a purely abstract thought it stands in no relation to time and space, i.e. neither can the Ātman be material nor can it move, nor indeed can it strictly speaking "*be*" in any particular place.

Here a difficulty crops up : how can an Ātman conceived of in such abstract terms (= consciousness of self) be distributed among so many individuals ? In other words, how can each individual have a separate Ātman ? Does this not imply that the Ātman was imagined as something concrete, at least as a kind of "soul" existing somehow (and somewhere) in the body and bound to it in some way ?

The answer is "no". While still adhering to the unity of the animate world inspite of its differentiation into individual living organisms, these Indian philosophers could do no other than assume that this division of the Ātman into separate individual entities was only valid for the physical world (the empirical world) and that there was in actual fact only ONE Ātman not pertaining to the physical world, but transcending it.

The problem of the conception of a microcosm within a macrocosm is thus resolved without abandoning the system of thought underlying it — it is merely developed so that the opposites microcosm and macrocosm are replaced by those of IMMANENCE and TRANSCENDENCE. An (egocentric) Natural Philosophy becomes an (equally egocentric) Metaphysic Philosophy in which the only reality is a consciousness of self which transcends and thus embraces all life.

Definitely at this stage in the evolution of Indian philosophy a doctrine of liberation must have been conceived. Whether the Natural philosophers were already familiar with such an idea is open to question. It is possible that they merely aspired to better their position in the cycle of rebirth and that they were still far from disassociating themselves from the cycle, i.e. achieving liberation.

Now it is doubtless this liberation that the Ātman theorists are striving after, although they do not conceive of it in terms of disassociation from the cycle of rebirth. That is in their opinion peculiar to the physical world which they regard as unreal and one cannot disassociate oneself from what is not real. But one can, as it were, repudiate it, which they achieved by recognizing the immanent Ātman as the transcendent Ātman. Whereas the Natural Philosophers were content with knowledge of the Principle of Life, now it is an *act of cognition* which is regarded as the means of liberation.

There is much to be said for thinking that this act of cognition was effected through meditation. At any rate, it leads expressis verbis to a state of bliss

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(ānanda) which must of necessity be without consciousness[1] since for someone who has realised that the only reality is the transcendent Ātman, objects cease to exist and only the subject *(paramātman, brahman)* remains.

The third stage : Ethics

The Ātman-theory is the culmination of the Upaniṣad Philosophy and possibly that of the whole of Indian Philosophy. It can, however, only be considered conclusive in one particular sense : it is the last great doctrine of the earlier period originating in esoteric circles.

What follows this doctrine originated in quite a different environment and not only the priestly and secular nobility but other social strata as well began to adhere to it. We may at any rate conclude from the scanty textual information that villages evolved into larger towns where at least one new class developed, namely the merchants. They plied their trade on a large scale and over vast areas and slowly gained considerable, possibly even decisive influence on the commercial as well as on the political and social scene — due no doubt in part to their somewhat broader outlook on life.

It is obvious that philosophy too becomes caught up in this radical transformation : it changes from esoteric to exoteric. Itinerant preachers, no longer speaking the language of the erudite but using the vernacular, travel across country, gathering adherents from all classes. This is no longer a very favourable basis for metaphysical doctrines, particularly for one such as the Ātman doctrine which goes as far as to reject the entire empirical world as unreal. Bearing this in mind, we may now venture to become more specifiic with regard to Buddha, the intinerant preacher under discussion here. That there is a relation between his doctrine and the Ātman theory is apparent by the frequent mention in Buddhist texts of "Non-Ātman" (*ānatman*). From this it may be deduced that Buddha was very sceptical about the justification of attributing reality — in fact the only reality ! — to an abstract conception such as that of Ātman. He thus becomes an opponent of the Ātman theory. All the same, it does not seem as if he was trying to deny that there may be something behind or beyond the empirical world; what he must have been convinced of is that one can make no pronouncements about it nor indeed is it necessary to do so. In contrast to the Ātman theory Buddha no longer emphasises transcendence in his teaching, instead he stresses immanence — one might almost say to the exclusion of all else — every aspect of which appears to him as Non-Ātman.

Considering the scepsis indicated by Buddha's rejection of the Ātman as the last recognizable inalienability, his doctrine of liberation must consequently be

1. cf. *Frauwallner*, op. cit. (P. 309, Note 3) p. 74 f. and p. 79.

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different from those of his precursors. Buddha even goes beyond that. Instead of first posing the question regarding the principle of life, he directly approaches the real stumbling block, the cycle of rebirth, relying exclusively on his experiences of empirical life.

The question as to why the lot of each individual within the cycle of rebirth differs so very much is not new at all. At the very latest it must have been raised by the Ātman theorists. Even though they might have felt unable to attribute any reality to the physical world, it is quite certain they could not have tacitly ignored this problem — provided it still was a problem in their time — and that they had to find or adopt an already existing answer to it.

In fact, several such answers were given. Of these, one answer finally prevailed. According to this, everything, whether good or bad, experienced during a life cycle depends on the Karman generated, i.e. on the good or bad deeds, whereby all intermediate stages of good or bad are of course possible. Roughly speaking, good Karman leads to a good and bad Karman leads to a bad existence.

This had also been ackowledged by the Ātman theorists. But for the liberation they aspired to, they had not attributed decisive significance to the Karman theory. This now becomes the starting point of Buddha's reflections, the inference of which is striking in its simplicity and consequence. His conclusion is contained in a Sūtra that has come down to us in four parallel versions.[1] None of these versions has retained the original text, which, in my opinion[2] must have been a comparatively short Sūtra. The contents (not the actual wording) can still be established with reasonable certainty and it may be summed up roughly as follows :

Two Brahmans by birth, applying for admission to the order, have a conversation with Buddha during their novitiate. Starting point of the conversation is the fact that because of their decision to become Buddhist mendicant monks, they are being censured and abused by the class-conscious Brahmans, including above all their relatives. According to them it is not becoming to members of the highest class (*varṇa*), the true sons of the God Brahma, born from his

1. The Pāli-Version is to be found in Dīghanikāya No. 27 (Aggañña-Sutta); cf. the English translation by *T. W.* and *C. A. F. Rhys Davids* in : Sacred Books of the Buddhists, Vol. IV, Part III, p. 77 ff. — There are also three Chinese translations : T. I, No. 1 (5) of the Dīghāgama; T. I, No. 26 (154) of the Madhyamāgama and T. I, No. 10.

2. cf. *Ulrich Schneider*, Ein Beitrag zur Textgeschichte des Aggañña-Suttanta, in : Indo-Iranian Journal 1 (1957) p. 253 ff. — I hope to be able to submit a study of the Chinese versions in the near future.

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mouth, to join a lower class, the religious (*śramaṇa*) which had merely issued from the feet of their common progenitor (i.e. the God Brahman).

Buddha passes comment on the assertion by pronouncing that his teaching is not based on the superiority of one particular class. There are, so he explains, four classes, that of the Kṣatriyas, the Brāhmaṇas, the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras. This makes it plain that to his way of thinking, the "religious" do not constitute a class of their own.

Then he argues as follows : in all these four classes there are good and bad individuals and in view of this the Brāhmaṇas, claim to represent the highest class is unjustified. He thus assesses an individual by his way of life and not, as do the Brāhmaṇas by his birth, and thereby arrives at the rejection of the Brahmaṇas' claim to superiority. He then goes on to give reasons why the way of life of an individual has to be taken as criterion. With members of all four classes, so we are told,

> a bad way of life leads to a bad existence
> a good way of life leads to a good existence
> a partially good, partially bad way of life leads to a partially good, partially bad existence
> and finally
> the way of life of a Buddhist monk as taught by Buddha leads to Nirvāṇa.

From this he concludes that the monk who has freed himself from all influence (Pāli *āsava*, Skt. *āsrava*) ranks first in the hierarchy of this world and finally, the claim of the Brāhmaṇas which sparked off the whole discussion is turned against them : it is not they who are the legitimate sons of Brahman — and born from his mouth —, with more justification one could thus describe the monks with regard to Buddha, or even with regard to Brahman himself, inasmuch as both are incarnations of the Truth and may therefore be considered identical.

So much for the text. Its tendency is clear : an ethical doctrine is proclaimed, wrapped up, as it were, in a polemic against the Brāhmaṇas and their belief in their superiority, a polemic which was undoubtedly of topical significance for the people of those days, in which all human beings are fundamentally equal. If this equality is derived from the idea that irrespective of birth and origin a bad way of life leads to a bad existence, a good way of life to a good one and a partly good, partly bad way of life to partly good, partly bad existence, it is not difficult to recognise the Karman theory as it was known before the advent of Buddha. So that is nothing new.

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What is remarkable, however, is that Buddha does not stop here but goes on to argue : again regardless of birth and origin, Nirvāṇa may be attained by all who exercise self-control. Judged by the context as a whole, what I term here as "exercising self-control" can neither be related to a good, nor of course to a bad or ambivalent way of life. So it remains to assume this to refer to a "neutral" way of life, which consists of refraining from Karman of any kind — good or bad. But this means that not only is Karman — as before — of decisive importance regarding one's destiny in the cycle of rebirth but also in regard to liberation. In other words, the Karman theory is now utilized for the doctrine of liberation. The consideration underlying this may be rendered as follows : if *how* one is reborn depends on the kind of Karman generated, then the fact *that* one is reborn depends on generating Karman of any kind. From this one may draw the reverse conclusion : IF ONE DOES NOT WISH TO BE REBORN ONE MUST REFRAIN ALTOGETHER FROM GENERATING KARMAN — WHETHER GOOD OR BAD.

This seems to me the quintessence of Buddha's teaching. Only by bearing this in mind can one, in my opinion, grasp the full implication and originality of this doctrine. Above all this is true of his conception of liberation. A glance at the Ātman theory shows that the goal, the transcendent Ātman, can still be defined in positive terms : one knows that it exists and one knows what to expect when it has been attained.

The Buddhist conception of liberation, Nirvāṇa (literally "fading away") is different. Since, as we have seen, it cannot be attained by generating Karman but on the contrary, by refraining from doing so, one cannot say exactly what this Nirvāṇa is or indeed whether it exists or not — one can only say what it is not, namely the ever continuing cycle of rebirth and everything inextricably bound up with it. Unlike Ātman, Nirvāṇa is thus definable only in negative terms. This is also expressed in the fact that in Buddhist terminology the empirical world (= the cycle of rebirth) is called saṃskṛta, i.e. conditioned by impulses of volition, the will to act, whereas Nirvāṇa is not conditioned in this way, it is asaṃskṛta.

Although one cannot make any positive pronouncements about Nirvāṇa, it is nevertheless to be aspired to. If one considers the content of the text there

1. The Pāli equivalent is :
kāyena (reps. *vācāya, manasā*) *saṃvuto* (par. 30); this obviously concludes the series :
kāyena (resp. *vācāya, manasā*) *duccaritaṃ caritvā* (27),
kāyena (resp. *vācāya, manasā*) *succaritaṃ caritvā* (28) and
kāyena (resp. *vācāya, manasā*) *dvaya kārī* (29)

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can be no doubt as to why this is so : being liberated from the cycle of rebirth also means being released from suffering (duḥkha) which is an indissoluble part of this cycle of rebirth.

The text expressing this idea most clearly is the Dharmacakrapravartana Sūtra, the famous sermon of Benares, traditionally held to be the first sermon preached by Buddha. The following is a translation of the Pāli text (Mahāv. I. 7.) There are numerous parallel versions which are more or less identical[1] :

"These two (dead) ends, monks, should not be followed by one who has gone forth. Which two ? That which is, among sense-pleasures, addiction to attractive sense-pleasures low, of the villager (vulgar), of the average man (mean), unaryan, not connected with the goal, and that which is addiction to self-torment, ill (afflicted), unaryan, not connected with the goal. Now, monks, without adopting either of these two (dead) ends there is a middle course, fully awakened to by the Truthfinder, making for vision, making for knowledge, which conduces to calming, to super-knowledge to awakening, to nirvāṇa.

And what, monks, is this middle course fully awakened to by the Truthfinder, making for vision, making for knowledge, which conduces to calming, to super-knowledge, to awakening, to nirvāṇa ? It is this aryan eightfold Way itself, that is to say : right view, right thought, right speech, right action, right mode of living, right endeavour, right mindfulness, right concentration. This, monks, is the middle course, fully awakened to by the Truthfinder, making for vision, making for knowledge, which conduces to calming, to super-knowledge, to awakening, to nirvāṇa.

And this, monks, is the aryan truth of ill (suffering) : birth is ill, and old age is ill and disease is ill and dying is ill, association with what is not dear is ill, separation from what is dear is ill, not getting what one wants is ill —in short the five groups of grasping *(pañca upādānaskandāḥ)*.

And this, monks, is the aryan truth of the uprising of ill : that which is craving connected with again-becoming (life) accompanied by delight and passion, finding delight in this and that, that is to say : craving for sense-pleasures, craving for becoming (life), craving for de-becoming (destruction).

And this, monks, is the aryan truth of the stopping of ill : the utter and passionless stopping of that very craving, its renunciation, surrender, release, the lack of pleasure in it.

And this, monks, is the aryan truth of the course leading to the stopping

1. For translation see Sacred Books of the Buddhists, Vol. XIV — Book of the Discipline, Part IV, translated by *I. B. Horner*.

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of ill : this aryan eightfold Way itself, that is to say : right view.....right concentration."

Buddha then goes on to explain at length and in detail that he was the first to discover these four noble truths of which he had availed himself in order to attain liberation, so that he can now say of himself : "Freedom of mind (liberation) is for me unshakable, this is the last birth, there is not now again-becoming (no more a cycle of rebirth)." And his listeners apprehend : "Whatever is of the nature to uprise, all that is of the nature to stop."

So much for the Sūtra. We must not forget that here too we are dealing with a sermon and not a philosophical treatise. In consequence Buddha drives home ideas that are straightforward and easily comprehensible rather than confuse his listeners with an intricate and complicated train of thought. We must therefore disregard the external form which is aimed at influencing the masses and restrict ourselves to the comparatively unpretentious content.

There we find, quasi as "Leitmotiv" the "noble eightfold path". But as far as I can see it is of practical rather than philosophical value. It shows the man in the street the first steps along the path leading to liberation. We may safely ignore this here. Mention is made, however, of two other matters which are more important by far since they afford a much deeper insight into the teaching of Buddha : the Middle Path and the four truths about suffering.

As far as the Middle Path is concerned one may say : avoidance of the two extremes that it preaches is tantamount to the suppression of greed of any kind, even of self-mortification, because this too generates Karman and thereby one gets entangled in the cycle of rebirth. The ideal is complete detachment; it just as much excludes inner commitment to liberation as, of course, clinging to life.

Of still more significance in our context are the *four noble truths*. Here even the external form, the divison into four, is not uninteresting : first of all it is ascertained that suffering exists, secondly that this suffering has a cause, namely "thirst" (or desire) and thirdly, that removal of the cause removes the suffering as well. Finally the path is shown that enables the cause of suffering (i.e. thirst) to be removed. Once more it is the noble eightfold path which, altough not explained again, is of course a Middle Path.

Let us turn first of all to the *First Truth about Suffering :* if one pays careful attention to the wording of the first truth one can scarcely fail to gain the impression that here Buddha is using the notion of "suffering" very superficially. There is, for example, no mention of the power to mould and transform, that suffering may have. Rather is suffering conceived of as an annoyance that

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accompanies one through one's whole life, standing in the way of enjoyment as aspired to by the average individual. At all events, the possibility of such enjoyment is not explicitly denied, indeed it must even be presupposed. For if it is said expressis verbis that it is grievous to be with unloved ones and also grievous to be separated from loved ones, so it should follow that to be united with loved ones and separated from unloved ones must or at least could certainly give pleasure. It is, therefore, in my opinion wrong to think that Buddha saw this suffering in *everything* experienced and in *all* that life has to offer. On the contrary, one does justice to him and his teaching if one adopts the following psychological viewpoint : the pleasant things of life are in themselves no reason for aspiring to putting an end to the cycle of rebirth. There would indeed be no justification for seeking liberation if life consisted solely of these pleasurable aspects. This, however, is not the case; on the one hand there are events such as birth, old age and death that inevitably bring suffering; on the other hand, even the pleasurable aspects of a fortune-favoured life (i.e. a life that consists of being able to fulfil every desire) are not worth striving after for the only reason that they are of *limited duration.* Apart from the suffering which inevitably lies in store it is the fact that one cannot hold on to happiness, that it is transient, which makes for the conclusion that life is not worth living. Out of the striving for happiness and the pleasures of life without the willingness to exercise restraint the decision for renunciation is born.

Such a decision indubitably requires strength of character. It can be measured to some extent if one bears in mind that in their quest for liberation the Ātman theorists were still in the position to cling to "metaphysical joy" (which they call *ānanda*) as an objective the attainment of which seemed to be certain. In comparison Buddha merely ventures to proclaim the possibility of overcoming transience and consequently that of suffering. One can scarcely conceive of an ideal of liberation expressed in vaguer, more sceptical terms. A dead end has been reached in treating a problem that originated in natural-philosophical, microcosm-macrocosm conceptions.

The conception of suffering as understood by Buddha is thus seen to become much more profound if one looks at life from the point of view of transience or inconstancy (Skt. anityatā). It is under this aspect that we must interpret the concise statement which sums up the aforesaid (cf. p. 253) "In short, the five groups of apprehending mean suffering".

What is meant by saying that the five Upādānaskandhas are subject to suffering is treated separately in a discourse (Mahāv. I. 8) Buddha is traditionally reputed to have delivered after his sermon of Benares. It reads as follows ;

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"Body, monks, is not self. Now were this body self, monks, this body would not tend to sickness, and one might get the chance of saying in regard to body, 'Let body become thus for me, let body not become thus for me'. But inasmuch, monks, as body is not self, therefore body tends to sickness, and one does not get the chance of saying in regard to body, 'Let body become thus for me, let body not become thus for me'."

Mutatis mutandis he goes on to say the same about sensation *(vedanā)* preception *(saṃjña)*, impulses of volition *(saṃskāra)* and cognition *(vijñāna)*. In a second part of the Sūtra the following is said :

'What do you think about this, monks. Is body permanent or impermanent ?'

'Impermanent, Lord.'

'But is that which is impermanent painful or pleasurable ?'

'Painful, Lord.'

'But is it fit to consider that which is impermanent, painful, of a nature to change, as 'This is mine, this am I, this is my self' ?

'It is not, Lord.'

'Is sensation...perception...are the impulses of volition...is cognition permanent or impermanent ?'

'Impermanent, Lord.'

'But is that which is impermanent painful or pleasurable ?'

'Painful, Lord.'

'But is it fit to consider that which is impermanent, painful, of a nature to change, as 'This is mine, this am I, this is my self ?'

'It is not so, Lord.'

'Wherefore, monks, whatever is body, past, future, present, or internal or external, or gross or subtle, or low or excellent, whether it is far or near — all body should, by means of right wisdom, be seen, as it really is, thus : This is not mine, this am not I, this is not my self.

Whatever is sensation,...whatever is perception...whatever are the impulses of volition...whatever is cognition, past, future, present, or internal or external, or gross or subtle, or low or excellent, whether far or near — all cognition should, by means of right wisdom, be seen as it really is, thus : This is not mine, this am I not, this is not my self.

Seeing in this way, monks, the instructed disciple of the aryans disregards body and he disregards sensation and he disregards perception and he disregards the impulses of volition and he disregards cognition; disregarding he is disspassionate; through dispassion he is freed; in freedom the knowledge come to be : 'I am freed', and he knows : Destroyed is birth, lived is the

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Brahma-faring, done is what was to be done, there is no more of being such and such.'

Here the five Upādānaskandhas are enumerated. They are, firstly, substantiality (literally "body" : *rūpa*), secondly, sensation *(vedanā)*, thirdly, perception *(saṃjñā)*, fourthly, impulses of volition *(saṃskāra)* and fifthly, cognition or consciousness *(vijñāna)*. We must now ask ourselves : how did the conception of the five Upādānaskandhas arise ? Of what consequence are they ? Indeed, what is meant by them ? In order to answer these questions it is necessary to recall the following :

Firstly : In Natural Philosophy we possibly have no concrete conception of liberation yet; what we do have is quasi a preliminary stage, the notion that knowledge of what sustains life, i.e. of the principle of life, enables the individual to place himself in the cycle of rebirth at will and that means as favourably as possible. At all events, these natural philosophers are operating here with a principle of life of a material kind, the knowledge of which helps attain certain wishes or improvements extending beyond one's present existence.

Secondly : In the next stage, the Ātman-theory, there is definite proof of a clearly defined conception of liberation. Here quite precise pronouncements of a *positive* nature are made about liberation. The same is true of the principle of life. There is thus an intrinsic connection between the notion of the principle of life and the notion of liberation.

Thirdly : We may make use of this observation in our attempt to analyse the teaching of Buddha. His theory of liberation is sceptical, as we have seen elsewhere (cf. p. 253) : he no longer makes any positive statements about what he calls Nirvāṇa because, in taking the cycle of rebirth as starting point, all that he regards as absolutely certain is the possibility of disassociation from it. Just as he no longer says anything positive about Nirvāṇa he likewise cannot conceive of an actual principle of life. He thus answers the question as to the principle of life only indirectly.

All that he considers as fact is that there is something one might call the "Empirical Person" (Skt. pudgala), who on closer observation, turns out to consist of different components — like a cart which, while consisting of different parts, can nevertheless be used as a whole. And these components are precisely the Upādānaskandhas. The fact that there are five of them can possibly be traced back to conceptions found in Natural Philosophy; at any rate we find there an arrangement of five too, if we add the four vital forces to breath, (resp. fire) the first principle of life (cf. above p. 248). However, in the Ātman-theory there is nothing pointing to an arrangement of five. The simple

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explanation of this is that here the emphasis is on the transcendent Ātman which could not possibly be divided up since it alone has the attribute *'real'*. (Only the immanent Ātman would have been susceptible of such a division).

However, the conception of the Upādānaskandhas is most certainly based on something else. Even in an ancient theory of elements [1] belonging to a branch of Indian Philosophy not being treated here — it is a precursor of Sāmkhya — we come across the term *nāma-rūpa* (literally "name and form"), probably with the meaning of 'individual' or 'individuality', since according to an ancient magical belief the name is as much an integral part of the person as the body. Here of course something else is already meant by the term, namely the division of the individual into a physical and a psychical component. It is precisely this twofold division on which the Skandha-theory is based :

Firstly : *rūpa* itself has been retained practically unaltered. It is the material part of the individual. Matter itself consists in the last instance of the four major elements *(mahābhūtāṁ)* : earth, water, fire and wind. The matter 'derived therefrom' is called *upādāyarūpa.*

Secondly : *nāma,* the psychic aspect of the individual, has on the other hand been split up and has undergone a remarkable development in the process. Here a distinction is made between four factors that clearly follow a consecutive order leading to a climax. There are four stations, as it were, through which the individual passes in the course of attaining consciousness of himself and of the outside world :

2. 1 *vedanā* : the sensations of vision, hearing, smell, taste and touch and the ability to think.
2. 2 *saṃjñā* : perception of colour, sound, smell, etc.
2. 3 *saṃskāra* : mental creation or unconscious formative powers resulting from perception, which constitutes the contact with the outside world.
2. 4 *vijñāna* : cognition or consciousness.

It is only with *vijñāna* that the 'individual' becomes conscious of the world and thus also of his own existence.

According to our text (see p. 248) all these Upādānaskandhas are subject to change and not controllable, i.e. one cannot direct them at will. However, that which is not controllable is on the one hand a source of suffering and on the other it is Non-Ātman (= Not-Self). So it follows that it must and can be overcome.

1. cf. also *Frauwallner,* op. cit. (p. 309 Note 3) p. 89.

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Thus it is ascertained in the Second Truth (of the Origin of Suffering) that suffering has a cause. This cause is desire, literally "thirst" (Sanskrit : *tṛṣṇā*, Pāli : *taṇhā*). So, although this may be a later school of thought, a distinction is made between three kinds of "thirst" : the thirst for sensual pleasure, for life and for destruction. Of the three, the thirst for sensual pleasure is the most elemental. The other two indicate once more that Buddha adopts the Middle Path; absolute detachment as an ideal means indifference not only towards life but also towards the destruction of life.

In the Third and Fourth Truth the logical conclusion is drawn with regard to the doctrine of liberation : by following the right path one must suppress the desires so that the emotional ties to the outside world get loosened more and more.

The Dogma of Dependent Origination

Keeping the above in mind we may now turn to the dogma of dependent origination, the Pratītyasamutpāda. This dogma is famous throughout the entire Buddhist world and has given rise to innumerable speculations and attempts to explain it.

The fame of the Pratītyasamutpāda may be partially explained by the prominent role it plays in the traditional account of the life of Buddha. We are told that when the Bodhisattva lay down under the Bodhi tree after a prolonged and vain effort, firmly resolved not to get up until he had attained supreme consciousness *(bodhi)*, he first of all passed through the four stages of meditation *(dhyāna)*, then with a clarity attained by meditation, he saw himself and all other living creatures being tossed about in the cycle of rebirth and finally, after investigating the cause of this tossing around, he discovered the Pratītyasamutpāda, whereby he became Buddha "the Awakened", i.e. he was released from the cycle of rebirth.

If this tale is true, the Pratīyasamutpāda must represent the pivoting point of the teaching of Buddha. And this is more or less the opinion held by many scholars. For Frauwallner this dogma comprises "The most significant pronouncement made by early Buddhism about the theoretical basis of its doctrine of liberation, and contains altogether the most valuable aspects of philosophical thinking evolved by it".[1] Is this a correct assessment ?

The very fact that not all the ancient texts treating the life of Buddha associate the Pratītyasamutpāda with the attainment of Bodhi[2] makes it not alto-

1. Ibid, p. 197.

2. See *Ernst Waldschmidt*, Die Erleuchtung des Buddha, in : Indogermanica. Festschrift für W. Krause (Heidelberg 1960) p. 214; *André Bareau*, Researches sur la biographie du Bouddha (Paris 1963) p. 95 ff.

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gether unreasonable to ask whether, in early Buddhism, the dogma possessed the key position it assumed later on, indeed, whether it can be attributed to Buddha at all — and if so, just how far it is attributable to him. At all events, the Pratītyasamutpāda in its traditional form is not absolutely homogeneous (cf. below p. 248). It generally consists of a series of twelve items each of which one must regard as being dependent on the previous one. The whole complex is supposed to give an explanation of continuous rebirth, Saṃsāra. The twelve items are :

> (1) *avidyā :* ignorance, (2) *saṃskāra :* impulses of volition or desire to act, (3) *vijñāna :* cognition or consciousness, (4) *nāma-rūpa :* name and form = personality, (5) *ṣaḍāyatana :* the six realms of sensory perception, (6) *sparśa :* touch, (7) *vedanā :* sensation, (8) *tṛṣṇā :* thirst, (9) *upādāna :* grasping (appropriation), (10) *bhava :* life (cycle of rebirth), (11) *jāti :* birth, (12) *jarāmaraṇa :* old age and death.

The series of items each of which is dependent on the previous one thus begins with (1) *avidyā*. There can hardly be any doubt as to what we must understand by this term; it is primarily ignorance of suffering, of its origin and of the possibility of removing it, i.e. ignorance of the four "Noble Truths" [1]. In a broader sense it means ignorance of the path of liberation, of the doctrine of liberation itself.

Due to this ignorance the (2) *saṃskāra* evolve which are obviously to be considered as the psychic prerequisites for generating Karman. This can be deduced from the fact that all transmigration (based on generating Karman) is called *saṃskṛta*, whereas Nirvāṇa, which is not conditioned by or dependent on Karman is described as *asaṃskṛta* (cf. above p. 248). But perhaps we may define the term Saṃskāra a little more precisely : as a state of mind, emotions or impulses of volition arising from perception, and causing these perceptions to be registered, as it were, with a higher authority, the Vijñāna, and to be linked with the 'Empirical Person', a process which is transformed or at any rate might be transformed into Karman (cf. also above p. 248).

Thus (3) *Vijñāna* is already essentially defined; it is 'cognition' or 'consciousness' which is really dependent on Saṃjñā, perception, and is qualitatively (good, bad or neutral) defined by the Saṃskāras. Together with the Karman that clings to it, and conditioned by this Karman, Vijñāna extends beyond death and thus becomes responsible for rebirth. All the same, to regard Vijñāna as something like the "soul", would be much too simple and frankly dangerous.

1. cf. e.g. Majjhimanikāya 9 = I, p. 54.

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It is true that Vijñāna enters the new womb but it merely acts as a "catalyst which, while inducing a chemical process can nevertheless not be detected in the final product of this process [1]".

And so a new being comes into existence with (4) *nāma-rūpa* (cf. above p. 248), a being that is not really new after all since it is dependent on one who has died, i.e. on the latter's Vijñāna, and thus on his Karman. To this new existence now belong the items (4) to (7) of the Pratītyasamutpāda, whereby Nāma-Rūpa merely denotes this being : it must be — or at least ought to be — [2] identical with the five Skandhas.

The items (5) to (7), far from constituting a chain of causality, by the way, now describe how this empirical person establishes contact with the outside world. (5) Saḍāyatana denotes the six realms of perception : vision, hearing, smell, taste, touch and mind. (6) *sparśa* is merely the contact between these realms and the outside world and (7) *vedanā* (sensation) is the result of this contact.

Indirectly or directly dependent on Vedanā is (8) tṛṣṇā (desire or thirst) (cf. p. 248), which leads to (9) *upādāna* 'grasping', i.e. clinging to the outside world. This world is described as (10) *bhava*, life-cycle of rebirth in general and (11) *jāti*, birth and (12) *jarāmaraṇa*, age and death, indicating the beginning and end of a single individual.

As far as it goes, this is to some extent a fair explanation of the Pratītyasamutpāda but it is quite obvious that such an explanation leaves many questions unanswered — perhaps instead of helping to solve the problem, it may tend to conceal it.

In the first place it is striking that the twelve items of the Pratītyasamutpāda do not relate, as could be expected, to a single existence, i.e. to a being within one existence, but to the three successive existences. It must be so related for otherwise the arrangement of the twelve items would be utterly incomprehensible. The first caesura must unquestionably be placed between (3) and (4), as with (4) Nāma-Rūpa a new being emerges which is dependent on (3) Vijñāna and that which precedes it. (1) to (3) thus belong to the first existence. It is by no means as easy to recognise where the third existence begins.

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1. *Hans Wolfgang Schumann*, Buddhismus, Philosophie zur Erlösung (Bern–München 1963) p. 41 (= Dalp–Taschenbücher 365).

2. There is no uniform explanation of the term Nāma–Rūpa in the Pratītyasamutpāda; generally Vijñāna is not considered part of Nāma, in which case Vijñāna must be regarded as a soul transmigrating from one existence to another. — Some scholars, however, reckon Vijñāna as part of Rūpa, e.g. *Frauwallner*, op. cit. (p. 309 Note 3) p. 207 f.

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It is at all events certain that the items (11) and (12) can no longer belong to the second existence, but possibly not even (10) is part of it.

However that may be, the question remains as to why, out of an endless chain of successive existences without a beginning and, apart from the exceptional case of liberation, without an end, precisely three are selected. It is usually maintained that the first existence denotes the past, the second the present and the third the future existence. But is that really an explanation in keeping with Buddhist tradition which maintains that the Pratītyasamutpāda is the conception of *one* man, namely Buddha ? I do not think so and for the following reasons :

Firstly : The prerequisites for reincarnatien have to be the same for the present as for the future existence, but in our dogma this is clearly not the case. It is a different matter whether one is reincarnated by virtue of Avidyā, Saṃskāra and Vijñāna, or of Sparśa, Vedanā, Tṛṣṇā and Upādāna. And even if it did *not* matter the question would still remain; why should there be a difference in terminology ?

Secondly : The Pratītyasamutpāda is not in keeping with the Skandha-theory. This is apparent from the mere fact that not all five Skandhas are mentioned. There is no mention of Saṃjñā nor of Rūpa. On the other hand we have (4) Nāma-Rūpa, a term which embraces or should embrace all five Skandhas. No answer presents itself as to why three of the Skandhas — (2) Saṃskāra, (3) Vijñāna, and (7) Vedanā — are cited separately and, what is more, that there seems to be a considerable gap between Vedanā, the last of the Skandhas, and the other two.

Thirdly : Above all, the Pratītyasamutpāda is not in accordance with the Sermon of Benares, or rather it is so only in parts. In the four truths, really the essence of this sermon, there is mention first of all of the fact that the *Upādāna-Skandhas* are bound up with suffering, then *Tṛṣṇā* (thirst) is revealed as the cause of this suffering. It is evident that this is a matter of finding an explanation for the cycle of rebirth, i.e. that the objective is the same as in the Pratītyasamutpāda. The question now is whether, and if so, in how far the contents of the two explanations are identical.

In order to be able to answer it we must go back to the expression *upādāna-skandha.* In Sanskrit Upādāna really means "to appropriate", "to take for oneself", and is used in this sense for example in sensory perception. What is meant here is quite obvious : the appropriation of the outside world through the five Skandhas which gives the illusion of a Self *(ātman)* in spite of the Skandhas being such a complex structure, whereas everything that may be ascertained about them is in reality Non-Ātman. But such an illusion is not *bound*

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to exist in respect of the five Skandhas — it does not, or no longer does so when one has attained supreme consciousness. In this case the Skandhas are not receptive, i.e. they are not Upādāna-Skandhas. The Skandha thus are Upādāna-Skandha only when or rather in as much as they are enmeshed in the cycle of rebirth.

We must take another look at the Sermon of Benares. If the five Upādāna-Skandhas are described here in the First Truth as being bound up with suffering it is, therefore, clear that suffering is bound to *Upādāna*. If, furthermore, *Tṛṣṇā* is mentioned in the Second Truth as the cause of suffering one can only conclude that the first items in a series aimed at showing the origin of suffering — and consequently also of the cycle of rebirth which is inextricably bound up with suffering — must be *Tṛṣṇā* and *Upādāna* according to the doctrine propounded in the Sermon of Benares. These are the items (8) and (9) of the Pratītyasamutpāda and together with (10) and (12) they form a closed and lucid series. (8) Thirst *(tṛṣṇā)* leads to (9) grasping *(upādāna)*, i.e. to entanglement with the outside world and thus to (10) *bhava* (life = cycle of rebirth) characterised by (11) birth *(jāti)* and (12) death *(maraṇa)*.

It thereby becomes possible to split the Pratītyasamutpāda into two parts between items (7) and (8) and to regard only the second part, (8) to (12), as original because this alone is in keeping with the Sermon of Benares. That is of course a mere hypothesis which must be examined as to its tenability. What can be said in its favour ?

Firstly : The difficulties we were faced with in our attempt to fit all twelve items of the Pratītyasamutpāda into the Skandha-theory do not exist as far as items (8) to (12) are concerned. Here the Skandha-theory is the obvious and required link since through experience of the cycle of rebirth, without transcending it, it provides the answer to the central question about the principle of life.

Secondly : It can hardly be doubted that according to earliest Buddhist doctrine Tṛṣṇā is the cause of suffering; the evidence of the texts, not only of the Sermon of Benares, is quite unequivocal. But the conclusion that the Pratītyasamutpāda should be regarded not as a homogeneous conception but as the product of historical evolution has seldom been drawn. Frauwallner for example stops in my opinion half-way when he attributes the extension of the series to Buddha himself. In support of his theory he can but refer to the relatively homogeneous tradition and the philosophical value of the Pratītyasamutpāda. However, against this it must be said : the philosophical value of the Pratītyasamutpāda seems to me (for reasons discussed here) to have been

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much over-estimated by Frauwallner, and as for the homogeneous nature of a tradition, this in itself is still no proof of its age, it could just as well be the product of a later period.

Thirdly : Tṛṣṇā as the cause of suffering also fits into the historical picture of Indian philosophy as sketched above. According to it the aspiration of the natural philosophers to better their position in the cycle of rebirth through their *knowledge* of the principle of life has given place to an *act of cognition* as a means of liberation where the Ātman-theorists are concerned. In Buddhist teaching, we now have the third and last stage in this development, namely an ethical doctrine. Here, as we have seen, the Karman theory has been brought to its logical conclusion, showing that neither knowledge nor cognition leads to liberation but only a *way of life* which avoids Karman; and such a way of life consists in remaining unmoved by everything, i.e. in the *suppression of Tṛṣṇā*.

Fourthly : If one now supposes that an "Ur"-Pratītyasamutpāda existed with Tṛṣṇā as its first item, it would explain how an extension over and beyond Tṛṣṇā was possible : the series of items (8) to (12) (from Tṛṣṇā to Jarāmaraṇa) is admittedly quite impressive in a sermon for example, but it is too simple to be used successfully in a philosophical discussion. Reference to the Skandha-theory at least would be necessary. However, although this theory gives a psychological explanation for Tṛṣṇā and Upādāna which is essential for the Buddhist doctrine, it is nevertheless so complicated that it requires a detailed explanation; it cannot simply be forced into a series to fit in before Tṛṣṇā.

If one now puts oneself in the position of a man confronted with the necessity of extending the series of five items beyond Tṛṣṇā it is understandable that he preferred to motivate this step by a theory of cognition rather than psychologically by the Skandha-theory. This is to be found in items (4) to (7), whereby the Skandha-theory is so to speak, packed into (4) Nāmarūpa (the term used to describe the 'empirical person'). The fact that Vedanā as (7) is used here in a different sense than in the Skandha-theory is indicative of the place of insertion. However, if items (4) to (7) were subsequently placed before (8) to (12), one could obviously not stop at that. The series had at least to be connected up with the cycle of rebirth and for that purpose (3) Vijñāna (cognition or consciousness) was the obvious choice, since in its extension beyond death, Vijñāna is responsible for the rebirth of (4) Nāmarūpa. There is textual evidence of the existence of this ten-part form of the Pratītyasamutpāda — (3) to (12) — (e.g. Dīghānikāya XV). The fact that here all suffering inherent in the cycle of rebirth is lastly attributed to Vijñāna,

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cognition, is remarkable since in the Ātman-theory cognition has precisely the opposite effect : it leads to liberation. Here it is of course a question of the recognition of Ātman as the only reality. In our 10–part form of the Pratītya-samutpāda there is a direct connection between Vijñāna as the root of all evil and Nāmarūpa, the 'empirical person', which is wrongly considered to be Ātman, and on closer examination proves to be a complex structure in which the individual parts are precisely Non-Ātman. This almost looks like a 'dig' at the Ātman-theory, and I, therefore, consider it possible that the extension of the Pratītyasamutpāda to ten items, starting with Vijñāna and Nāmarūpa, reflects a controversy with Ātman philosophers, the intention being to refute their arguments on the basis of this theory of cognition. Admittedly I am unable to regard it as an outstanding philosophical achievement.

However this may be, the addition of (2) Saṃskāra and (1) Avidyā to the Pratītyasamutpāda which thereby assumed its final 12-part form is undoubtedly a retrograde step form the philosophical-historical point of view, and that for the following reason : as we have seen, liberation is according to the teaching of Buddha only possible if one leads a way of life specifically aimed at suppressing Tṛṣṇā. Whether or not one has understood the theoretical basis for this way of life is of no real significance. Ignorance can be compensated by Śraddhā, i.e. by trust in Buddha and the correctness of his teaching, which makes it possible to follow more or less blindly the practical precepts of the teaching.

Unlike Tṛṣṇā, ignorance — even in its broadest or narrowest sense — thus does not stand in the way of liberation in my opinion. It, therefore, cannot have been placed by Buddha himself at the beginning of a series aimed at showing how one becomes enmeshed in the cycle of rebirth. In this case Buddha would no longer have understood his own doctrine. Where his followers are concerned, it is of course quite a different matter. It must have been in the interests of those whose task it was to perpetuate and spread the Buddhistic doctrine to equate non-adherence to the teaching with ignorance and to represent it as the basic error leading continually to Tṛṣṇā and thus in the last instance causing all suffering. They were no doubt unaware of the fact that in doing so they were once more conceding a position to knowledge which, according to Buddha's teaching, it could not possibly have any longer. As far as we are concerned, however, it shows that in the philosophical development of the microcosm-macrocosm pattern there is no going beyond Buddha.

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KING VARUṆA

BY

PAUL THIEME, TÜBINGEN

1 The oldest document of Indian religion, the Rig-Veda, puts science before a number of quite peculiar and rather difficult problems.

We are standing, as it were, in front of a huge mosaic picture, partly, though not hopelessly, destroyed, owing to a number of stones having disappeared or grown blind. It is our task to render, by technical procedures, such blind stones their old colour and brightness; to fill up, by critical conjectures, such gaps; to obtain, by coordinating the details, a clear picture of the figures and happenings represented; finally, to find out by interpretation the meaning and significance of the whole. Continuously we are confronted by the two questions: What did the poet precisely say ? and : What may have been in his mind ? In answering the second question, we are often helped by the comparison of other Vedic, that means : post-Rigvedic, texts and, not infrequently, by that of ideas met within other religions.

At this occasion, it is our intention to try to restore some of the traits of god Varuṇa as depicted in the Rig-Veda and to reassess, as far as it seems necessary, the inner significance of this great figure of the Vedic pantheon.

The portrait of god Varuṇa occupies an important, though not an extremely large, place on our mosaic representation. Quite a number of details are immediately recognizable and close together easily into meaningful sectional pictures.

2 Varuṇa is represented as a king (*rājan* RV 1. 24. 7 ff., 1. 91. 3, 1. 143. 4, 1. 156. 4, 2. 27.17, 5. 40. 7 etc., *samrāj* 1. 25. 10, 6. 68. 9, 7. 82. 2, 8. 42. 1 etc.), who rules over mortals and gods (2. 27.10), over all (10. 132. 4), over heaven and earth (1. 25. 20), throning — in royal adornment (1. 25. 13) — on a throne that rests on a thousand pillars (2. 41. 5.), living in a heavenly palace (1. 136. 2.) of a thousand doors (7. 83. 5).

His wrath is feared (1. 24. 14, 4. 1. 4, 7. 62. 4, 7. 84. 2, 7. 86. 3); he meets out punishment — illness and death (1. 24. 11, 7. 86. 4), but may show munificence (7. 88. 1, 1. 136. 6) and mercy (1. 24. 11, 7. 25. 3, 5, 19, 1. 136. 6, 7. 86. 2, 7. 87. 7, 7. 89. 1 ff.) and even my release from guilt (1. 24. 9, 14, 5. 85. 7, 8) : a king, then, in the role of highest judge.

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He has at his disposal snares or ropes with which he catches and fetters (6. 74. 4, 10. 97. 16) and from which — if he so wishes — he releases an evildoer : a royal judge, then, in the role of prosecutor.

He observes, himself or through his spies (1. 25. 13, 7. 87. 3, 9. 73. 4), his people, their thought (8. 41. 1) and actions (1. 25. 11). He is wise (*medhira* 1. 25. 20, *dhīra* 8. 42. 2), omniscient (10. 11. 1), undeceivable (1. 25. 14, *adabdha* 1. 24. 13, 9. 75. 5, *adābhya* 10. 11. 1, *dūḍabha* 2. 28. 8, 7. 86. 4). His ornament (*peśas*) is truth (5. 66. 1), he is the guide/protector of truth (*ṛtasya netā* 7. 40. 4), who separates untruth from truth (*ṛtena rājann anṛtam vivincan* 10. 124. 5), who looks dawn on people's truth and untruth (*satyānṛte avapaśyañ janānām* 7. 49. 3), who in particular protects/watches vows/solemn promises (*vratāni... abhirakṣati sadā* 7. 83. 9) and gives (1. 91. 3, 8. 42. 1), and is true to 1. 24. 10 etc.), his own solemn promises. He protects from danger and hostility (1. 24. 9, 2. 28. 3, 2. 29. 6, 10, 7. 88. 6) : a king, then, in the role of a wise and strong ruler and protector of his people from wrong-doers and other dangers.

3 Varuṇa is the personification of a cosmic force. As such he lives in the waters, sometimes of the sea (1. 116. 14, 9. 73. 3, 9. 95. 4), sometimes "clothing himself" in the rivers (9. 90. 2); he is the brother of Fire (Agni 4. 1. 2), the wind is his breath (7. 87. 2), the seven streams run along his throat (8. 69. 12), the sun is his eye (6. 51. 1, 1. 115. 1, 7. 63. 1); he works the wonders of creation : he put the dawns in their place (8. 41. 3), created the paths for the sun (1. 24. 8, 7. 87. 1), put the sun in the sky (5. 85. 2), propped asunder heaven and earth (6. 70. 1, 7. 86. 1, 8. 41. 10, 8. 42. 1), spread out (5. 85. 1, 7. 86. 1, 8, 42. 1) and measured out (5. 85. 5) the earth, set the waters running (2. 28. 4, 7. 87. 1, 10. 124. 7), and dug the path of the Indus (10. 75. 2); he sends rain, refreshing the whole ground of the earth (5. 83. 3, 4); moon and stars shine and fade according to his solemn promises (1. 24. 10, cp. also 8. 42. 1); he set in motion the night sky so it revolves doubly (*dvitā*) : from east to west and round its axis (7. 86. 1), and, in general, created all kinds of miraculous natural things and facts (5. 85, 8. 41. 3, 9. 73, 9) by his wondrous craft (māyā). He has in his embrace the nights (8. 41. 3), the universe rests in him (7. 87. 5), he holds the tree — that is : the universe, or : the sky ?) — in the bottomless space, its top downward (1. 24. 7).

4 Varuṇa is one of a group of gods, the Ādityas, to whom belong, among others, gods like Mitra, Aryaman, Bhaga. Quite usually he is invoked and praised together with Mitra, the two gods being coupled together as Mitrā-Varuṇā; less frequently, he and Indra appear together as Indrā-Varuṇā. At these latter occasions, it is pointed out regularly that they are opposites, com-

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plemental to each other : chiefly, Indra as warrior king, Varuṇa as guardian of peaceful existence that is founded on mutual vows and promises (7. 83. 9ab, 7, 85, 3cd, 6. 68. 3cd, 7. 82. 2a, 6b, 84. 2cd); Indra as the protector [of the warrior in his role] of the rich patron of the sacrifice, Varuṇa as the helper of the poet in his role of reciter at the sacrifice (1. 17. 5 *Indraḥ sahasradāvnāṃ Varuṇaḥ śamsyānāṃ kratur bhavaty ukthyaḥ*. "Indra is the strength of those who give thousands (i.e. the sacrificing princely warriors), Varuṇa is the strength of the recitations". It is noteworthy that Varuṇa and Mitra are never confronted in a similar way : obviously, they complement each other, but not as opposites.

5 It is not quite a simple task to relate these sectional pictures to each other in a compelling way, to discover behind the rather varicolored details a connecting conception, in the light of which all the single traits would close together into a meaningful, harmonious whole. Most striking feature of our picture : cosmic and moral functions are met side by side in a way which suggests a monotheistic religion.

In the Rig-Veda, however, there is lacking just the idea of omnipotence in its strict sense, which in a monotheistic religion has as its natural and necessary consequence the allembracing character of its one and only deity. In a polytheistic religion, we expect the powers of a deity limited by the range of one characteristic function, from which all the others would naturally and necessarily derive. The problem we are up against is then : how are the cosmic and the moral functions of the god related, how do they close together — since the idea that brings and holds them in connection cannot be the belief in Varuṇa's omnipotence.

6 The quest for the proper nature and essence of god Varuṇa, which was not helped by the data of post-vedic literature, where he plays a somewhat indifferent part as a god of the water, the sea and the rain, has led to rather diverse answers. Attempts were made to explain him as, for example, originally a god of the sea, or : of the sky, or : of the moon, or : of the night, or, finally : of the oath.

The multiplicity of these explanations — I did not even attempt to give a full list — can be reduced to two types. The first type is characterised by interpretation in terms of nature oriented mythology : god of the sea, the sky, the moon, the night. The starting point is the assumption that the god becomes explainable when taken as the personification of a natural or a cosmic phenomenon or of the power thought to reside in such a phenomenon. The second type sees in Varuṇa the personification and deification of an ethical idea or of the power residing in such an idea. Varuṇa as "god of the oath" would be

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the personification and divinisation of the ethical power or the magic potency believed to reside in the solemnly uttered words of an oath.

7 This second type of explanation is comparatively rare and, in contradistinction to the first one, rather unpopular : it does not fit in with the conception, once advocated with brillant eloquence by Max Müller and, it would appear, still dominant, of Vedic religion being essentially a nature worship. It was first introduced by the French linguist A. Meillet, who proposed to explain the Indo-Iranian god Mitra/Mithra as "god Contract/Treaty" and Varuṇa as "god Law/Order". (Journal Asiatique, 10 (1907) pp. 143 ff.). Meillet's idea was taken up and applied in a most thorough and impressive manner to Varuṇa by H. Lüders in his Varuṇa I and II, posthumously edited and published by L. Alsdorf (1954, 59). It was Lüders who posited Varuṇa as "god Oath". Even before Lüders' revindication of Meillet's principle — the deification of abstract concepts, recognised as a possibility already before him by H. Usener in his *Götternamen* (1896) p. 368f. — I had tried to establish the Vedic Aryaman as "god Hospitality", following the method used by Meillet in discussing Mitra. (*Fremdling im Rig-Veda* 1958 pp. 134 ff.).

The particular difficulty with Varuṇa is, of course, that the appelative meaning of the noun *varuṇa* is not immediately recognizable, in contradistinction to that of the noun *mitra* n., which can be firmly established, with the help of old Iranian, to have originally been "contract/ treaty/ covenant."

8 All explanations of Varuṇa offered till now — even that of Lüders, which I consider by far superior to the others —, though differing vastly from each other, have one thing in common : they all presuppose — implicitly or explicitly — that for the poet of the RV Varuṇa was no longer an intregal whole, made up of component units that would constitute a unity. Each of them postulates a simple prehistoric god, who would have developed, already at the time of the RV, into a complicated structure no longer comprehensible as an entire whole : omissions, additions, reinterpretations, misunderstandings would have destroyed the god's entireness and the essential unity of the functions attributed to him. The quest for the god's proper essence is, as it were, considered inappropriate and consequently abandoned before it was started. It is replaced, quietly and without any further ado, by the quest for the god's prehistoric original essence.

Now I don't believe that we are right in taking it for granted from the outset that the Vedic poet did not understand his god any longer. It is true, we are entitled to believe that the "flowery speech" (puṣpitā vāc : Bhag. Gīta 2. 42) of Vedic poetry does embellish, enhance, exaggerate. Such enhancement,

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however, does not — not of necessity, anyway — mean a reinterpretation or — even less so — a misinterpretation. It seems an altogether justifyable, an altogether sober principle first to try whether we cannot make sense of what the poet says, without imputing him lack of comprehension and turning to prehistory for enlightenment. The more so, as just in connection with Varuṇa we meet with several poems that do not at all give the impression of being routine poetry, in which certain traditional formulae would be put together and arranged somehow in a mechanical fashion by would-be poets : they rather impress us as pieces of art that tell of the immediate experience of a god of mighty and live activity, of a transcendental personality in whose existence one may believe with a devotion and sincerity that rest on understanding.

9 Like the prehistorically oriented investigator, we too have to look for a starting point, for a central idea round which all the others may be grouped. The difference is that the prehistorian can be satisfied when he is in a position to explain the connection of the ideas as one that has grown by a historical process, but need not be logically valid any longer. Its legitimation would be the power of tradition, which may amalgamate older and younger traits and keep them side by side, even though they be quite disparate or even in a logical conflict.

We, on the other hand, want to understand the connection between central idea and peripheral traits as one of living logic, as a connection that is understandable as to its rationale to the poet as well as to his listening public, that can be recreated at any moment and would appear of necessary logical validity to anybody.

In view of this state of affairs with us not being able to rely on a prima facie linguistic evidence, we have to start with observing the god when functioning, as it were, and ask : which of his functions is the essential, the fundamental one ?

Declining to adopt, unquestioningly, the presumptions of the mythological school of thought, we shall not take it for granted that the role Varuṇa plays in the realm of cosmogonic poetry and speculation is necessarily of primary importance. The eternal questions as to the origin of the universe and of the natural order we seem to see around us are, of course, asked and answered by every religion. Yet in reality they do not constitute its innermost essence. Man can live quite well without knowing how the universe came into existence. Incomparably more difficult it is for him to go his way without believing in a supernatural helpful being, to whom he may address himself in fear and hope and thankfulness, in the joys and the difficulties and the terrors of his own personal existence.

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Let us turn then our back, at least for the time being, to mythology and cosmogonic speculation. Let us look first at Varuṇa when he is intervening at special occasions, when he is taking part in the life of an individual : when there is a situation where man cries out to him in distress or thanks him for his mercy; when he talks to him or of him with confidence or in fearful doubt; when he feels that without him he would be lost. Let us find, in other words, the place Varuṇa occupies in real life, his relation to the conditions of practical existence.

Why — thus our question —, why does a man in a particular situation turn to just Varuṇa, when there are, at least theoretically, 3339 other gods (RV 3. 9. 9 = 10. 52. 6) he might have chosen. Our approach meets with favorable conditions : there are several individual conditions under which Varuṇa is being invoked. Most of them are fraught with high emotion.

10 A rather pathetic situation is put before us by RV 7. 89 :

1. "Let me not, O Varuṇa, king, enter the house of clay (the urn where the bones are put after the cremation of the corpse) : through mercy, thou of good rulership, show mercy" !

2. "As I am walking along like one bursting, like an inflated skin, I ask thee : through mercy, thou of good rulership, show mercy" !

3. "Through weakness of my (moral strength), surely, have I gone against (thee), thou pure one : through mercy, thou of good rulership, show mercy" !

4. "Thirst has visited the singer while standing in the middle of water : through mercy, thou of good rulership, show mercy" !

5. "Whatever we men, O Varuṇa, did commit here as an outrage on the folk of the heavenly — whereby through lack of insight we have effaced thy establishments (established norms/rules/laws) — do not let us come to grief, O heavenly one, on account of this guilt" !

The speaker, who calls himself a "singer", that is a poet who chants his own poetry, is ill, he must be afraid of having to die. He is suffering from the symptoms of dropsy and is convinced it was sent him by god Varuṇa, and that as a punishment. He also believes that "the king of good rulership" *(sukṣatra)*, as he adresses Varuṇa in the refrain, might show mercy by taking away the illness from him. From the effect, the dropsy, the singer makes an inference as to its cause : he must have committed some sin, some outrage, directed, possibly, against "the folk of the heavenly" in general, obviously, however, of a special kind that exposes him to the wrath of Varuṇa in particular : he is afraid of having "effaced *(yup)*" Varuṇa's "establishments" *(dharman)* — which obviously means : of having treated them as non-existent, of having ignored them.

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He has "gone against" (*prątīpaṃ gam*) the god or his establishments. Thereby he must have become impure (*aśuci*), while the god is "pure" (*śuci*). He considers that an offence against god Varuṇa may happen from "weakness of [moral] strength" (*kratvas...dinātā*), but also that it may be caused by "lack of insight" (*acitti*).

If now we ask what kind of evil deed, of sin, the poet has in mind, the poem, at first glance, does not seem to give a clear answer. But, if we look closely, we do find something like a clue, an almost hidden, — yet once it is noticed — actually quite distinct hint which makes a safe inference possible. This clue is in the expression *abhidroha* in verse 5, which I translated, provisionally, by "outrage" :

"Whatever we men... did commit here as an outrage on the folk of the heavenly" —

provisionally only, to say it again, and pretending to accept the authority of Sāyaṇa (glossing : *apakārajātam* "any kind of offence"), or the Petersburg Dictionary (translating : *Beleidigung, Verletzung*) or Geldner (translating : *Frevel*).

11 Root *druh*, that is true enough, is used in later Sanskrit and even in some Vedic, Post-Rigvedic, texts, e.g. AV 9. 5. 4, in the sense of "doing [dangerous] harm" (Pāṇ. Dhātu – Pāṭha : *druha jighāṃsāyām*). In our context, however, *druh* seems to carry a distinct moral connotation. In fact, we can be certain that at least in prehictoric times, the verb possessed a more specific, morally tinged signification. The root *druh* is genealogically related to corresponding roots of other IE. languages : to German *Trug* "deceit, fraud", *trügen* "to deceive", and, what is of much greater relevance, to Old–Iranian *druj* "to lie, to deceive." It can be seen immediately that these lexical values of related languages offer us just that moral connotation and that reference to a specific sin we are wanting in the context of RV 7. 89. 5. We shall, consequently, replace the translation "outrage, offence" by "deceit, deceitful harm [directed against the gods]". The value "deceive, harm by deceit" can be kept in translating *druh* throughout the Rig-Veda, it recommends itself in particular for passages like : RV 1. 23. 22, 1. 25. 14, 1. 133. 1, 4. 23. 7, 5. 74. 4, 6. 62. 9, 7. 61. 5, 7. 104. 7, 17; 1. 121. 4, 1. 122. 9, 2. 23. 17, 2. 27. 16, 2. 35. 6, 4. 4. 15, 7. 16. 8, 7. 59. 8. *drugdha* in RV 5. 40. 7 is used in the sense of "deceitful, harming by deceit" as it is in AV 5. 18. 2, where *akṣadrugdha* is — not "hated of the dice" (Whitney) — but "deceiving with dice".

If it can be ascertained in this way that in dealing with the Rigvedic root *druh* we are not allowed to presuppose the value "to do harm", which is that of later Vedic and classical Sanskrit, to have taken over already, but that we

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have to accept the value "to deceive, to do harm by deceit", which must have been that of Proto-Aryan, as it is that of Old Iranian, to be still alive. It appears that here we are dealing indeed with that kind of "mosaic stone" I referred to, which had lost some of its old colour, but can be rendered its characteristic genuine hue by the techniques of accurate interpretation and circumspect linguistic investigation.

The correctness of our conclusion that Varuṇa's punishment does not follow an "outrage" or "sin" in general, but a specific crime : a "deceit" or a lie, is confirmed, rather borne out, by those other passages of the Rig-Veda that emphasise Varuṇa's function as the protector of truth and the avenger of untruth (RV 5. 66. 1 etc. : above § 2, p. 334). Cp. also AV 19. 44. 8.

12 If it should not yet be clear what the poet means to say by depicting Varuṇa as "looking down on people's truth and untruth" (RV 7. 49. 3), it will become so abundantly by looking at another occasion where he is shown engaged in practical action : AV 4. 16 is, as Lüders absolutely convincingly explained (*Varuṇa* I p. 30f.), a versified admonition to speak the truth, given by the judge to the witness about to take his oath and bear witness (a close analogy is offered, as Lüders pointed out, by Manu 8. 80 ff.).

AV 4. 16. 2. "If a man is standing or going, and if he is jumping — if he goes into hiding, if he stiffens — whatever two men deliberate having sat down together, king Varuṇa knows that as the third one".

In c read *yadyad* instead of *yad*, improving meter and sense.

3. "This earth belongs to king Varuṇa and that sky as well, the high one, whose borders are far away; and the two seas are his loins; and he is hidden in this little water.

"this little water" : in frout of the man who takes the oath there stands a pot with water, which in swearing he has to touch : Lüders, *Varuṇa* I p. 31.

4. "And should a man creep beyond the sky, he would not be freed of king Varuṇa's presence. Coming from heaven, his spies roam this universe; with a thousand eyes they look across the earth".

5. "King Varuṇa sees everything that is between heaven and earth and that is beyond them. The twinklings of the eyes of men are known to him by number....."

6. "Thy thrice seven snares, Varuṇa, which, having [already] been flung, stand [in the air], yet mounting (?), but ready to fall down on the perjurer, let them bind him who speaks the untruth *(anṛta)*, let them spare him who speaks the truth *(satyavādin)*".

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In b I suggest reading *ruhantas* instead of *ruśantas/ruṣantas*. In c read, with Whitney, *sinantu*.

7. "With a hundred snares/ropes curb him (the swearing witness), Varuṇa. Let him whose speech is untrue *(anṛtavāc)* not be freed from thy [ropes]. Let the scoundrel sit (= become unable to move), letting his belly fall apart like a barrel without hoops, becoming emaciated (?)" !

I suggest reading *pavikṛśyamānaḥ* for *parikṛtyamānaḥ*.

8. "The Varuṇa who is of the conjuration (= is supervising the forming of a league, accompanied by mutual vows), who is of the abjuration, the Varuṇa who is of the assignment, who is of the deliverance, the Varuṇa who is of the gods, who is of the men —"

9. "With all those ropes I bind thee, O so-and-so, of such-and-such a family, son of such-and-such a mother ! All these [ropes] I assign thee duly".

The correct interpretation of the terms samāmya, vyāmya, samdeśya, videśya, which alone makes the two verses understandable, is K. Hoffmann's : Zeitschrift f. vergl. Sprachforschung, vol. 83 (1969) pp. 203 ff. Correct on *samāgma* already H. Lommel, ZDMG 92 (1938) p. 462.

It is hardly possible to miss the analogy to this description of Varuṇa's omnipresence and omniscience offered by psalm 139.

The idea that Varuṇa catches and binds the witness that does not speak the truth is alive at much later times : Manu 8. 82ab *sākṣye 'nṛtaṃ vadan pāśyair badhyate Vāruṇair bhṛśam*..."who in witnessing speaks the untruth, is fettered strongly with the snares/ropes of Varuṇa...", Mahābh. (Poona) 2. 61. 67 *jānan na vibruvan praśnaṃ kāmāt krodhāt tathā bhayāt/sahasraṃ vāruṇān pāśān ātmani pratimuñcati*.

13 The snares of Varuṇa, it should be noticed, have as valid an analogy in the Old Testament as his omniscience. I quote from Proverbs :

5.22 "His own iniquities shall take the wicked himself, and he shall be holden with the cords of his sins".

6.1. "My son, if thou be surety for thy friend, if thou hast stricken thy hand with a stranger, thou art taken ("caught") with the words of thy mouth".

Such analogies show that the idea of snares or ropes in connection with verbal obligations, through which one "binds" himself or feels "bound" — cp. also a Latin idiom like *fraude obligari*, lit. "to become tied/bound by a fraud" — suggests itself rather easily and does not stand in need of an explanation in terms of mythology.

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14 The same applies to the concept of Varuṇa's spies. They are a necessary attribute of his kingship as are the spies *(spas)* of Mithra in the Avesta. In the same way Zeus has "watchers" *(phylakes)* — 30000 in number —, who watch, themselves invisible, right and wrong of men (Hes. *Erga*...252 ff.) cp. also Lüders, *Philologica Indica*, p. 462. Such spies are often called, in Iran as in India, the "eyes" or the "ears" of the king. A mythological interpretation of Varuna's spies or "thousand eyes" as "the stars of the night sky", for example, is quite uncalled for. It would, of course, be possible to identify the stars as Varuṇa's eyes later on. In this way, the sun is called Varuṇa's eye explicitly in the RV (6. 61. 1 etc. : above §3, p. 334) — not because of a mythological association, but because the sun is supposed to see everything.

15 Varuṇa does not only punish untruth, but also protects him who speaks the truth. This becomes evident from a type of ordeal, described, it is true, only in a much later text, but certainly much older than its first testimony, because explainable only in the light of Rigvedic and Atharvavedic ideas. From Yājñavalkya 2. 408 f. we learn of the following proceeding (cp. also Lüders, *Varuṇa* I, p. 31 f.) :

An accused man submerges in a water, holding the thighs of another man, who is standing in the water up to his navel. A nimble man is to fetch an arrow, which was shot at the moment of the man's submerging. When, at his return, he still finds the accused man with his head covered by the water, the man will be cleared of the accusation. Now, before submerging the suspect who claims his innocence, he is to adjure the water *(abhiśāpya kam)* — that is the deity present in the water — with the formula : "Through truth protect me, Varuṇa *(satyena mābhirakṣasva, Varuṇa)*" !

16 As it appears from RV 7. 89. 5c, Varuṇa punishes even a lie that was committed out of "lack of insight", that is : which was spoken unintentionally or rashly. This will emerge even more clearly from another poem of the RV, 7. 86. The poet knows that Varuṇa is angry with him — possibly he is afflicted with dropsy : "Even the wise tell me : Varuṇa is angry with thee" (3cd). Yet he does not know by which particular action he became guilty :

7. 86. 4 "What was the guilt, Varuṇa, that thou wantest to kill thy chief eulogist, thy friend ? That tell me, O lord hard to deceive..."

The poet considers that Varuṇa my be avenging sins of his ancestors by punishing him :

5. "Let go [from thy avenging thought] the deceitful deeds *(drugdhāni*, cp. above §11, p. 339 *)* of my fathers, let go those we committed ourselves..."

Plainly he does not know at which occasion the sin was committed nor,

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even, whether it was committed by himself. However, from the kind of punishment he is receiving — it must come from Varuṇa — he can make a safe inference as to the kind of crime it must have been : it must have been a lie :

6. "It was not my own adroitness, Varuṇa, it was a slipping, it was liquor, wrath, the gambling die, lack of insight (inadvertency) — the vicinity of the minor one (a minor offence like the drinking of liquor, rage, gambling etc.) there is indeed the major one (the major crime of lying, for which the minor crimes create the occasion) — even sleep does not keep away untruth".

The minor offences named — in contrast to later ideas, drinking liquor does not yet constitute a deadly sin, as it does for Ch. Up. 5. 10. 9 — do indeed create the occasion for the major crime of lying : when drunk, a man is inclined to boast and tell "tall tales" or to make promises he will not keep on the "day after" : Patañjali, Mahābhāṣya II. 87. 3 (on Pāṇini 3. 1. 118, vartt. 1) *mattasya na pratigṛhyam, anṛtaṃ hi matto vadati* "a drunk man's [present] must not be accepted, for a drunk man speaks the untruth"; when in rage, a man is inclined, equally, to say things he does not seriously mean; the falsehood of "dicers' oaths" (Hamlet III. 4. 46) is proverbial : RV 5. 85 8a; Boehtlingk, *Indische Sprüche* 6127 *vinayaṃ rājaputrebhyaḥ...anṛtaṃ dyūtākārebhyaḥ / strībhyaḥ śikṣeta kaitavam;* 1617 *kāke śaucaṃ dyūtakāre ca satyam...madhyape tattvacintā...kena śrutaṃ dṛṣṭaṃ vā.*

"Even sleep will not keep away untruth" : trying to understand this, we have to bear in mind that in old India the breach of a treaty, or a promise, or a vow is generally called a lie also. The reason is that a man, by breaking his word, makes it to be a lie, he "belies it", as the English idiom puts it. In the case in question, it can only be a matter of breaking the vow of chastity, which, in contrast to a contractual undertaking, for example, can indeed be broken during sleep, be it by voluptious dreams or even by an actual, involuntary self-pollution. Cp. for example Gaut. Dh. S. 23. 20, which prescribes — after giving purification ceremonies to follow the wilful breaking of the vow of chastity — a rite to be executed "when semen was spilt in danger, in illness, in sleep" *(retaḥskandane bhaye, roge, svapne)* by a brahmacārin.

17 Varuṇa as the guardian of solemn promises or vows is met with in another practical situation. After the marriage ceremony, when the bride is about to leave her parents' home in order to follow her husband to the house of her new parents, where she is going to live henceforth as a member of the joint family household — at this decisive moment of her young life, her father unties her braid (Āśvalāyana Gṛhya S. 1. 7. 16–17) with a Rigvedic mantra (RV 10. 85. 24) that starts with the words :

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"I release thee from the snare/rope of Varuṇa..." Practically this means that he discharges, dismisses her from her old family, as the following verse (25) distinctly shows :

"I release her from here (i.e. from our family) not from there (i.e. from her new husband's family). I make her well-tied there, so that she will be as such a one (= as a well-tied one), O bountyful Indra, of good sons, of good luck".

Why does the father speak of the snare/rope of Varuṇa ? There seems but one answer possible : because he releases her from her obligations against her old family, which she is leaving, and because these obligations are thought to rest on tacitly or explicitly given promises. The father is careful to point out that by undoing her braid he does not release her from other promises she has given, in particular of the vows she made at the wedding ceremony to her husband.

Even in later times the binding and unbinding of a plait seems connected with the taking and the terminating of a vow, although the original symbolism may not be understood any longer. "When a husband goes for a journey, the wife is supposed to wear a plait she does not undo *(ekaveṇi)*, till her husband himself, on his return, unbinds it (cp. for example Meghadūta 2. 29 *(ādye baddhā virahadivase...)*. The original meaning of the custom seems clear : at the husband's departure, the wife binds herself with a solemn vow of chastity, from which she is released by the returning husband — with the unspoken mantra, as it were : *muñcāmi tvā Varuṇasya pāśāt*.

In this context belongs the *"śikhā"* : originally it must have been a symbol for the wearer's being bound by a certain definite and austere vow. In the case of a brahmin, this vow can only have been the promise to speak always and on every occasion the truth : above all a brahmin is a *satyavrata* "one whose vow is the truth" (cp. for example Thieme, Kleine Schriften p. 623 f.). The well-known story presupposed in the Mudrārākṣasa, of Cānakya cutting — and not binding — his *śikhā*, when taking his terrible vow of destroying Nanda and his whole family, could not possibly invalidate this hypothesis : it only shows that in later times the old motivation for binding the *śikhā* was forgotten and it had become a symbol, the most conspicuous one, for a brahmin's dignity.

18 From such examples it becomes evident that it is by no means only the sacredness of oaths that is guarded and protected by Varuṇa, but that of all kinds of vows and solemn promises — even of such a homely one as the promise of a child to be obedient to its parents (above §17). Varuṇa punishes, furthermore, according to the explicit testimony of the RV (above §16, p. 342)

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that lie also that was uttered inadvertently or unvoluntarily : the lie that is in the prattle of drunkenness, or that escapes in wrath, even that which is committed in sleep — when an involuntary reaction of the body "belies" the words of a solemn vow. A conjurer in the AV says it explicitly :

1.10.3 "Whatever untruth *(anṛtam)*, [whatever] manifold *(bahu)* crookedness thou hast spoken with thy tongue —

from king Varuṇa, whose establishment/law *(dharman)* is truth *(satya)*, do I release thee."

In a read *yadyad* instead of *yad*, improving meter and sense (cp. above § 12, p. 340 on AV 4. 16, 2).

It remains true, of course, that the oath falls under the jurisdiction of Varuṇa with special aptness, as it represents that instance of truth - speaking where the distinction of veracity and mendacity is of the most vital importance.

19 If Varuṇa's role in the life of man becomes explainable throughout by looking at him as the god of truth — and that would be : as truth personified —, we are led to put the question whether the cosmic functions ascribed to him (above §3, p. 334) will become explainable also as those of a "god Truth".

How did and does Varuṇa create the wonders of the universe ? Following Lüders, we answer : by the magic, creative potency of truth. Referring the reader to Lüders, Varuṇa, in particular to the discussion in Varuṇa I pp. 15–24, I only quote two characteristic sayings :

RV 1.67.5...he (i.e. Agni) holds the earth he has propped the sky by true utterances *(mantrebhiḥ satyaiḥ)*..."

Cp. e.g. RV 7. 86. 1 "...who (Varuṇa) has propped asunder heaven and earth..." RV 10. 8. 5 "Thou (Agni) becomest the eye, the guardian of truth, thou becomest Varuṇa, when thou strivest for truth (that is : when thou dost formulate "true utterances"), RV 4. 42. 4c" through truth *(ṛtena)* the son of Aditi (= Varuṇa), the truthful one *(ṛtāvā)*, spread out the threefold ground [of the world]".

Mahānārayāṇa Up. 63. 2 "Through truth *(satyena)* the wind blows, through truth the sun shines in the sky, truth is the fundament of speech : on truth the universe is founded."

The truths through the magic potency of which Varuṇa creates, are at the same time solemn promises *(vrata)* he has given and, as truth personified, will hold most certainly, and through which he keeps the cosmos in order (above §3, p. 334). Such solemn promises befit, at the same time, his role as a king (above §4, p. 335) : a king and his people are bound to each other by mutual "vows" *(vrata)*. Cp. H. P. Schmidt, *Vedisch vrata*... (1958) pp. 21 ff. and 42 ff.

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20 Varuṇa does not only live in the waters (RV 1.116. 14 etc. above §3, p. 334),or has his golden palace in the waters (AV 7.83.1), he also sends dropsy, which is a morbid accumulation of water in the body (above §10, p. 338), and is in the water that stands before the witness (above §12, p. 340) or into which an accused man has to submerge at the ordeal (above §15, p. 342). In the epics and later literature, Varuṇa is above all "the lord of the water" (cp. Lüders, Varuṇa I, pp. 41 ff). What would truth have to do with water ?

We have to take it as a fact that in old India water was recognised as the element of truth, as elsewhere fire is. This appears not only from the close association of Varuṇa with water, but also from other traces : in our oldest collection of Sanskrit synonyms, the Naighantuka, expressions for "truth" *(satyam, ṛtam)* are given as synonyms for "water" *(udakanāmāni)*. The goddess of Sanskrit, that is the language of truth and of the truth speaking brahmins, is Sarasvatī, a deified river.

21 If, then, we maintain that Varuṇa resides in the water and is present in the water, because he is the god of truth and water is the element of truth, somebody might be tempted to invert the argument and say : Originally Varuṇa was a god of the water and has become the god of truth, because the water is the element of truth. Indeed, of all the different explanations of Varuṇa, proposed by the school of nature mythology, this one would seem to have the best chances of being correct, as it is the only one that can in some way account for Varuṇa's truth protecting and truth wielding functions.

Yet it cannot be accepted. The most cogent argument against it is offered by the company in which Varuṇa appears in the RV (above §4, p. 334). It is constituted by gods like Mitra, Aryaman and Bhaga, to name its most prominent members.

All these gods are not divinisations of natural phenomena or of elements like water, but personifications of abstract ideas like truth. By origin they are allegorical figures, which, later, were taken seriously and through this process elevated to the rank of gods. Typologically they resemble Greek and Latin gods like *Nīke* "goddess Victory" : *nīkē* "victory, *Dikē* "goddess Justice" : *dikē* "justice", *Fidēs* "goddess Fidelity" : *fidēs* "fidelity". Let us have just a short look at them.

bhaga m. as an appellative noun is "share, portion". As a god, *Bhaga,* "god Share", is the divine being that looks to it that everybody gets his just and fair share in boons of life. He is an old, pre-Aryan god, as is shown by the equations : Old Iranian *baga* "god", Slavonic *bog(ŭ)* "god".

mitra n. as an appellative noun is, in Old Iranian and in the RV, "treaty, covenant". As a god, *Mitra,* "god Treaty", he is the protector of the sacredness

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of treaties. He is a proto-Aryan god, as is shown by the Old Iranian equation *Mithra* "god Treaty". (Cp. above §7, p. 336).

aryaman n. as an appellative noun (RV 5. 29. 1) is "hospitality, treaty between host and guest" (cp. also Old Iranian *airyaman* m. "hospitality, people with whom one is connected by hospitality"). As a god, *Aryaman*, "god Hospitality", is the protector of the sacredness of hospitality. He is a proto-Aryan god, as is shown by the Old Iranian equation *Airyaman* "god Aryaman" (cp. above §7, p. 336).

varuṇa as an appellative noun should be something like "true speech, spoken truth". As a god, *Varuṇa*, "god True-Speech", is the protector of the sacredness of spoken truth, the avenger of untruth, the wielder of truth when giving promises that guarantee the course of nature and when creating the universe by the magic potency of truth. He cannot be proved to be a proto-Aryan god : no equation in Old Iranian having been discovered till now.

22 The appellative meaning of *varuṇa* does not come forth into view with the same immediacy as that of *bhaga* and *mitra*. It has to be inferred from the role and the functions of the personified concept, the god *Varuṇa*. Yet, once it is accepted — tentatively at first —, it appears that this appellative meaning becomes audible behind the name everywhere, and in some passages with particular distinctness. Thus, for example, AV 4. 16. 8, 9 (above § 12, p. 340) might also be understood :

8. "The (spoken) truth that is of the conjuration (= the oaths and vows through which a league is formed), that is of the adjuration... that is of the gods, that is of the men,

9. "with all these ropes I bind thee..."

Cp. *Proverbs* 6. 1 "... thou art taken ("caught") with the words of thy mouth".

RV 10. 97. 16 "May (the plants used in a particular spell) free me of the shackle [that was put on me] by an oath *(śapathyāt...paḍbīśāt)* and also [of the shackle that was put on me] by a [spoken] truth *(varuṇyād uta...paḍbīśāt)* (= vows and solemn promises) ...

23 Etymologically, a *varuṇa* "true speech, [spoken] truth" can easily be accounted for. It would be a derivative of an IE. root **ver* "to speak solemnly/ with truth", which is also in *vrata (vr'atá)* "solemn promise, oath", Russian *rotá* (<**vrotă* = Vedic *vrată* pl.), Lat. *vērus* "true", Slav. *vēra* "faith" (these two latter ones are vṛddhi-derivatives from an IE. noun **vero-* n. "true word") and Greek *ver* 'to speak' in (v) eréō "I shall speak".

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24 If Varuṇa is the god "True Speech, [spoken] Truth *(vāktattva)*", one special, apparently essential function of his, which would remain obscure if he were the god "Oath", becomes quite clear. Varuṇa — that is : god Truth, and : truth — makes people wise :

RV 7. 86. 1ab "Wise are the generations through the greatness of him who has propped asunder heaven and earth"; 7. 86. 7c" he (Varuṇa), the helpful god, enlightened the unenlightened"; he is the friend (*āpi, sakhā* : RV 7. 88. 5, 6) of the religious poet in particular, whose poems are meant — not only to be beautiful in form and interesting by their content, but also and chiefly so — to reveal transcendental truths and thereby work marvels and miracles. It is Varuṇa who reveals deep secrets to the poet ("Varuṇa told me : thrice seven names does the [sacred] cow bear" : RV 7. 87. 4), it is Varuṇa who made Vasiṣṭha a sacred poet *(ṛṣi)* (7. 88. 4). He is himself an ecstatic poet (*vipra* : 7. 87. 4d), the first of the poets *(kavitama)*, who knows hidden secrets (7. 87. 4, 8. 41. 4bc), who is rich in poetry (8. 41. 5de), in whom all poetry centers like the hub in the wheel (8. 41. 6ab) :

RV 1. 105. 15 "Varuṇa creates [poetic] formulations *(brahmā)*...
He opens the thought in the heart :
Let a new truth *(ṛtam)* be born !..."

RV 9. 73. 9ab *ṛtasya tantur vitataḥ pavitra ā*
jihvāyā agre varuṇasya māyayā

"The thread of truth *(ṛta)* (that is : the true words from which the poem is woven, and : by which, through the magic potency of truth, the world is woven cp. 4. 42. 4 etc.) is stretched out in the straining-cloth" (that is : forms the straining-cloth by which "the poets purify their speech" : (9. 73. 7), [it is stretched across] (that is : is led across the warp of the loom on which the sacred poetry and the world is woven) on the tip of the tongue (which serves as shuttle) — through the magic potency of Varuṇa (that is : of god Truth, and : of truth)".

Rather a late Sanskrit verse (Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra 8 [1952] p. 3a, verse 2), recreates the comparison of poetic speech and woven texture and re-establishes the analogy between the texture of poetry and the texture of the world. But the idea of the creative potency of truth formulated in poetry — very much alive in the RV (above § 19 and therefore presupposed by me in explaining 9. 73. 9) — is hardly in the classical poet's mind : "the cloth that is the world" is for him the world of imagination conjured up by the poet :

sūkṣmāya śucaye tasmai namo vāktattvatantave
vicitro yasya vinyāso vidadhāti jagatpaṭam

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"Obeisance to that fine, pure thread that is the truth of speech (= poetical truth), whose variegated/wonderful arrangement (weftage) produces the cloth that is a world (the world of poetry)."

The close parallelism in the expressions of the Rigvedic and the late-classical verse covers but superficially the gulf that separates vedic and late-classical "Weltanschauung".

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HANUMAN AS A RESEARCH OBJECT FOR ANTHROPOLOGISTS — FIELD STUDIES OF SOCIAL BEHAVIOR AMONG THE GRAY LANGURS OF INDIA

BY

CHRISTIAN VOGEL (Kiel)

The volume of scientific publications concerning the behavior of the closest living biological relatives of man has increased tremendously during the last several decades. Behind this fact lies not simply the general growth of publications in most fields of natural science; rather, the concentration of interest on the higher primates[1] has its specific reasons.

For some time, comparative anatomy has presented overwhelming evidence that, in the classification of living things, man without any doubt belongs with the primates and that the monkeys, but especially the apes, are our closest living relatives. Paleontologists have, in the meantime, collected considerable evidence with fossil finds to close up the gaps in the evolutionary history. Physiologists and biochemists have also contributed a great deal of material toward proving unmistakably the close relationship of apes and man. It came as no surprise, therefore, when the psychologists took up the study of apes and monkeys and discovered their behavior to be a prominent source of information for experimental studies of certain basic psychological characteristics of man. The clarification of the question concerning inborn behavioral patterns in man was attempted as much through studies on monkeys as the theories of learning in human psychology were researched on non-human primates in laboratory studies. The research of the fundamentals of intelligent action was even carried out on apes and monkeys. The preference for working especially with monkeys is based firstly on the fact that here the psychological complexity of the behavior patterns in man appear to be greatly simplified, and, secondly, that certain experiments can be conducted with monkeys (for example, the raising of the young in complete social isolation or operations on the central nervous system) which cannot be carried out with man as the research object. The latter is the reason for the extensive use of monkeys in modern medicine. The assumption behind this work concerning the relevance of the results with respect to man is the knowledge that, out of all the living creatures, the monkeys and apes are the closest to man.

1. In the systematic order "Primates" the great Swedish biologist LINNÈ in 1758 classified man with monkeys and apes.

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Besides the laboratory studies of the psychologist, there has been an increase in recent years in the field studies of monkeys and apes. This has occurred above all due to the logical biological assumption that a correct interpretation of the behavior and its involvement with environmental factors can only be determined by the study of animals in their natural habitat. The behavior of monkeys in their natural habitat, therefore, is a special focus of interest of biologists, psychologists, sociologists and, last but not least, anthropologists, since it promises to provide a source of information concerning basic patterns of human behavior and man's evolutionary development.

One of the most fascinating areas in this research is the study of the social behavior in naturally formed groups. How is the social structure formed, what are the interrelationships between the types of social organization and the ecological conditions of the environment, how does it correspond to the dominance hierarchy of the social units, to the demand for territory and the boundaries of the home range, to aggression within the group and between groups; and which mechanisms exist for channelling aggression, how is the social behavior different with respect to sexual difference, and what is the process of the socialization of the young into the social structure of the group ? All these questions are of great interest to anthropologists, psychologists and sociologists in regard to man and the development of human social behavior. It is eminently important and also practical, that these questions be answered. Since nearly all human behavioral patterns are more or less determined by a large variety of different cultural and traditional influences, the monkeys appear as the purest examples of the biological basis of our social behavior. Unavoidably, the question appears again and again to what extent is our social behavior predetermined or programmed by evolutional inheritance and what is a pure product of environmental influences and education ? How much of our repertoires of social behavior is able to be altered or manipulated by re-education and at what point does the biological basis resist rational education ?

Before a solution to these problems can be sought, studies must be conducted concerning the possible variation in the social structure and behavior patterns present in the natural environment of as many different species of monkeys as is possible. It is not only important to know about the differences between the species themselves, but also to understand especially about the variability between social groups within the same species. Here the question arises : Is the social structure of primate species determined by inherent fixations, or does the inherent disposition, as in the case of man, of these higher social animals allow for a variablity in structural and behavioral patterns ? If the latter proves

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to be true, then to what extent do certain environmental factors and/or traditions influence the actual existence of certain variations ?

We selected the Indian species of gray langur, *Presbytis entellus*, the Hanuman of the Hindus for our studies. Why this species ? The gray langur is distributed over a large area of India, providing us with regional variations not commonly found among any other primate species. More importantly, the gray langur in his extensive distribution, inhabits territories encompassing a wide variety of ecological niches, from the tropical rain forest of Central India to the arid savanna lands of Rajasthan; from the vast open cultivated area of the North Indian plains, to the mountain forests on the slopes of the Himalayas. For these reasons, *Presbytis entellus* appears to be especially suited for research concerning the influence of different environmental factors on the social behavior and group organization.

From the vast selection of varied habitats, we sought out two contrasting environments; the mountain forests of the Kumaon Hills on the southern slope of the barriers of the Himalayas and the dry, flat savanna of Rajasthan. During the months of September, October and November 1968, our team of three persons intensively observed the langurs in the region of Bhimtal (Kumaon) and in the "Wild Life Sanctuary" of Sariska (Rajasthan) in a total of 1071 hours. A total of 500 langurs, divided into 15 social units were observed. With exact behavioral protocols, films, photographs and tape recordings, we studied their habits, their daily activity cycle, feeding and drinking, their behavior in their natural environment, their attitudes towards other animals and man, and, all the structure of their social units, the social behavior within the group and the intergroup behavior.

A short description should serve to illustrate the differences between the two types of environments. The langur habitat in Bhimtal (Kumaon) lies 900 to 1.500 meters above sea level, has a temperate summer climate and a cool to cold winter climate with a relatively high amount of annual rainfall (approximately 2.600 mm) and a moderate humidity which is somewhat higher during the monsoon season. Heavy monsoons occur during the late summer, with lighter monsoon during the spring and winter months. The forest (a mixed rainforest with a mixture of oak and conifers at higher altitudes) is high-crowned, broken at intervals by steep slopes of boulders and rocky cliffs. Native settlements with gardens and fields are scattered throughout. The supply of water and food for the langur diet of mainly leaves and fruit remains relatively constant during the whole year. In winter the upper regions are often covered with snow, forcing the langurs to move their core areas further down the mountain for a time. The langurs' only potential predator here is the leopard.

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In stark contrast to Bhimtal is the type of environment found in the Wild Life Sanctuary of Sariska in Rajasthan. This region lies approximately 400 meters above sea level and is distinguished by low-wooded hills beside open scrub lands on the boundaries of the reserve. Occasional rocky peaks up to 200 meters high are found. The climate in summer is extremely dry and hot, in winter, it ranges from moderate to warm. The small amount of precipitation, approximately only 700 mm annually, is restricted largely to the late summer monsoons. The temperature fluxuation from day to night is greater here than in the Kumaon Hills. The forest consists mainly of low, thin-trunked trees. The water supply and, most likely, the preferred food supply is scarce during the hot, dry summer. The predators are the leopard and sometimes — may be — the tiger.

In view of the variations in habitat described briefly above, it is not surprising that the life-style of the langurs also differs in many respects. First of all, the diet is somewhat different : In Bhimtal leaves, flowers, and berries from the *Lantana camara* as well as leaves from the *Terminalia tomentosa* and numerous other trees are preferred; in Sariska, the leaves and fruits of the *Zizyphus jujuba* and the leaves of the *Anogeissus pendula*. The animals in Sariska sought out open water sources more often than those in Bhimtal. In both regions, the monkeys were observed licking stones (salt and minerals) and feeding on succulent Euphorbiaceae. Due to the thin trunks of the trees, the langurs in Rajasthan remained longer on the ground than did the Kumaon langurs. That presents, along with the larger number of predators, a greater danger to the Rajasthan langurs than to those of Kumaon. These conditions could contribute to the fact that the langur groups in Sariska are distinctly larger than those in Bhimtal (Tab. 1), and moreover contain on the average more adult males. With about 100 individuals per square km the population density for both regions was essentially the same. In both habitats, safe sleeping trees or rocks were sought out for the night. The Sariska langurs distributed themselves over a larger area in the low treetops, providing little opportunity for predation, whereas the groups of Bhimtal langurs concentrated themselves in one or few of the towering treetops of the surrounding forest, the higher trunk of the sleeping tree making it difficult for predators. Flight through the tops of the neighbouring trees, moreover, remained possible.

The differences in the styles of life stated above, which have been proven as an adaptation to a specific ecological situation, consequently affect the group structure and social behavior. I would like to elaborate upon this subject as follows.

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First of all, we were greatly surprised to discover how differently even directly neighbouring groups of langurs in both regions studied were organized. We discovered that no two of the nine groups which we had analysed more closely possessed exactly the same type of social structure. Without any doubt we are dealing with neither inherited fixations nor adaptations to specific environmental factors. Rather, on the high psychic level of higher developed primates (in a certain anticipation of human freedom) we are dealing with flexibility in the formation of social organization on the basis of group-specific traditions. The knowledge of the variability of organizational forms is, therefore, a requirement for the analysis of the possible relationships of basic socialization phenomenon to definite ecological factors.

It is typical of langurs of all environments to form, besides the heterosexual social groups, also all-male troops, whereas the complement, that is, the all-female troops, does not exist. It is significant that, in spite of the form of social organization in the individual instances, fewer adult and subadult males than females live in heterosexual groups. In view of this fact, the majority of the adult and subadult males live outside of mixed groups, here in all-male troops, in order to achieve, on the whole, a balanced sex ratio.

According to our data from both habitats, approximately 74% of all adult and subadult males live outside of the bisexual groups, most of these in organized all-male troops. The majority of langur males, therefore, spend a certain amount of their life time outside of bisexual social groups. The all-male troops as a rule almost always consist of subadult and adult individuals, although occassionally juveniles join; male infants still always live within the mixed groups. The behavior of the all-male troop differs in some respects from that of the mixed groups. Their poorly developed hierarchy is based essentially on the age or size of the individuals. The troops on the whole, behave more like a collection of "individualists", lacking a special centralization upon one or more central individuals. Group marches appear to be less cohesive and the posting of sentries is generally neglected. Flight is mainly a matter of uncoordinated individual action. The home range of the all-male troops is somewhat larger than that of the mixed groups and overlap to some extent with the home ranges of the latter.

Tab. 2 illustrates the composition by sex and age of those bisexual groups which we have studied. Here it becomes obvious that the majority of mixed groups consist of only a few adult and subadult males. Two of the groups we studied can be described as 1-male groups, since their social structure is concentrated upon only one full adult male. This type of 1-male group structure

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exists in many different habitats, and thus, is not dependent upon the ecological conditions of the environment. Obviously, this structure type does not depend to a certain degree on the group size among the langurs. The one 1–male group observed in the Sariska region included 62 members, whereas it should be noted that besides the full adult α-male [1] a second, subadult male was present, which, for example, during aggressive encounters with neighbouring groups, actively supported the α-male, but nevertheless in interaction with α remained subordinate and submissive.

The main factor of differentiation of the group structure in heterosexual groups is the number of full adult males and their social interactions. The 1–male groups centered around one full adult male were characterized as being especially peaceful. Here it is obvious which animal is the boss; the atmosphere of tension among adult males which has such a profound influence upon the social pattern of the group is lacking. This peaceful order of the 1–male groups is endangered at the latest when a younger male member of the group reaches adulthood.

Among the mixed groups with more males, there are some consisting of two or three adult males from which it is evident that one holds the dominant α–position. Here α occupies the center of the group, determines his position independently, arbitrates and punishes in disputes, demands the female of his choice, is regarded constantly by all members of the group, is treated with extraordinary respect and is the dominating factor behind the behavior of the whole group. In short, he stands as the focus of attention structure, that is, the communication network of the group. The subordinate males remain on the periphery of the group, outside of the center. It was observed several times that as soon as α gave up a licking or drinking place, β immediately occupied the place α had just left. It was, however, quite obvious that he was respected less than α. On the group periphery, β or β and γ were each often accompanied by an adult female, usually younger, thus building a set of peripheral consort pairs for a time. Here a difference between the behavior of the Bhimtal langurs and the Sariska langurs was observed. In the Bhimtal region, there was considerable sexual jealousy on the part of the α–male who often aggressively broke up coital relations of the subordinate male in order to punish the unfaithful female. No such form of sexual jealousy or possessiveness was observed in either of the mixed groups of the Sariska region. In the Bhimtal region we were able to observe how tense the atmosphere in a social group

1. In ethological terminology α is characterized as the most dominant animal within the social group; the second most dominant is characterized as β, etc.

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would become whenever β responded to the threats of α, returning the threatening canine grinding of the α–male or by returning his threat in the same manner, with mimicry and threatening gestures. However, by evidence of similar aggressive behavior on the part of the α–male, β would usually immediately retreat. If this should not occur, the result would be serious disputes and fights, consequently resulting in the expulsion of one of the rivals or in the re-structuring of the whole group. This could also end up in a splitting of the group.

We found a completely different, unusually strange social structure with another small mixed group in the mountains ("Salarhi-Group"). Three adult males were also present here, of which one was clearly the α–male, the second a subordinate β. To these, however, there was the addition of a third male which, in our opinion, was the biggest male langur we have ever seen. Because of his imposing appearance in a thick white fur, we named him "Polar bear". He held himself mostly as a completely independent individualist aloof from the rest, often at a distance of several 100 meters from the relatively closed group, keeping only eye-contact. He did, however, possess all the rights of an α; he could enter the center uncontested, sit next to α and even copulate with a female of the group without intervention from α. It almost appeared to be as if a "gentlemen's agreement" existed between the two. We could find no better description of this single instance of an "excentric codominance" than to speak of the "polar bear" as a "mirror–α".

However, the most interesting discovery for us was the social structure of the "large mixed group" from Sariska. Here we found for the first time in a colobine [1] species a social structure which until now had only been attributed to Cercopithecines, for macaques and daboons. This langur group consisted of a large heterosexual central unit with many adult males and an outer all-male circle consisting most of the time of two subgroups of "follower"–males of different ages which usually formed the front and rear guard in the marching order. There was constant tension between the males in the center and the "followers", which often expressed itself in the formation of a divided front. Although these subgroups often slept somewhat apart from the center of the group, it was quite evident that this was not an independent all-male troop. They possessed no territory of their own, their attention was always directed towards the group's center and some of the outside males constantly tried to break into the mixed center, an attempt which was vehemently thwarted

1. Colobinae and Cercopithecinae are the two subfamilies of the Cercopithecoidea which along with the Hominoidea (apes and man) are classified as catarrhine primates (= Old World Primates).

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every time by a cooperative front of the center-males. So there developed an ambivalent dependence relationship between the group's center and the circle of outside males. We were also witness to the occurance as one male from the center, wounded after two days of constant battles, was forced into the outer circle of males. This unusual form of organization appears to occur, as with macaques and baboons, only in extremely large groups. We recorded this form only in the largest group of those we studied which, incidentally, happens to be the largest group of langurs to be found in the available literature to date. Temporary subgroups, such as play groups, the association of mothers with babies or the grouping of juveniles according to sex were observed in this group.

Nevertheless the types of social structure as described here must not be seen as static forms of organization; they are, rather, to be interpreted generally as the various stages in the dynamic development of the group. The great variability alone in the sex ratio of the individual age groups within the group is evidence for the fact that a type of structure cannot remain constant over a longer time span. In a few years a 1-male group can evolve into a group with two or more adult males and the structure can change again, in that a male drives his rivals out of the group forming once again a 1-male group. It can be said with a great deal of certainty that the form of social organization is extremely mobile.

How dramatic a social change can be was demonstrated before our eyes in the "garden group" of the Bhimtal region. For more than 10 days we were able to follow the increasing revolt of the β–male against the α–male, which expressed itself in threatening exchanges and increasing jealousy, whereby α first retained the upper hand. On October 9, the α–male finally injured his right arm so badly from a fall that it hung uselessly from his side. Evidently this coincidence rapidly increased the rate of social change so that it came to a very serious battle between the two males, enabling α to chase away his rival once again. However, that night the group divided itself into two almost equal parts and sought out two separate sleeping places at a great distance from each other, one section with α, the other with β. After the next day the group appeared together again, the units from the preceding day were completely separated. The subgroup of the former β–male laid claim to the larger part of the home range, including the ground licking place. On October 14, β forced the α–adherents clear to the eastern boundary of the old group territory. The next day it came to continuous mock battles (vocalizations, teeth-grinding, chasing) in which the third male, which belonged now to the β–unit, also took part. Interestingly enough, at this

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stage of social desintegration, two males from the neighbouring all-male troop actively intervened. One of them later returned to the all-male troop, whereas the largest animal of the all-male troop succeeded in making the transition into the mixed group. He was integrated as the new β–male into the β–unit. During the last days we were able to observe that the α–unit number of animals steadily reduced in size while the β–unit increased, obviously an increasing flow in one direction. From October 16 on, we were no longer able to locate the former α–male, which had most likely been irrevocably banished, while the β–unit had reached the original size of the "garden group".

With this, a former dominant male was expelled from a mixed group and, on the other hand, an adult male from an all-male troop switched over to a mixed group. Through an exchange of males in this manner the gene flow between neighbouring groups is maintained and endogamy controlled. That this change in the leading position ended with the expulsion of the former α–male must not be seen as the average situation; the conflict could have also resulted in a splitting of the group.

The example described indicates a higher instance of social mobility of the social structure, the consequences of which are determined to a large extent by the number of group members, the sex ratio and it appears, especially by the "personality" of the adult male members and, certainly in our areas of observation, are not primarily dependent upon the different ecological factors. With these assumptions, it is not to be expected that the stability of the structure of a group is of longer durability; rather, it is only able to be maintained over a relatively short time span and is therefore subject to constant change, which can perhaps be channeled into definite boundaries through certain group specific traditions. The social organization of a group can be severely disturbed through a slight fluctuation in the unstable balance of the social relations among the participating adult males or in the sex ratio and thus basically changed. So it appears possible that all types of structure described can be classified as transferrable stages of development. To be sure, how and under what conditions a large group of the sort described in our report of the "large mixed group" in Sariska develops, is not clearly understood. Here we are of the opinion that certain ecological factors, such as the threat of predators, combined with the low crowned tree tops and eventually also the scarcity of water sources in the Sariska habitat promise to be of importance. That this type of structure is not the only one possible in this environment is evidenced by the "rock group" which was centered around only one adult male, that is, a 1-male-group.

The social hierarchy in all of the mixed langur groups we observed was considerably stronger by the males than by the females, who showed no linear

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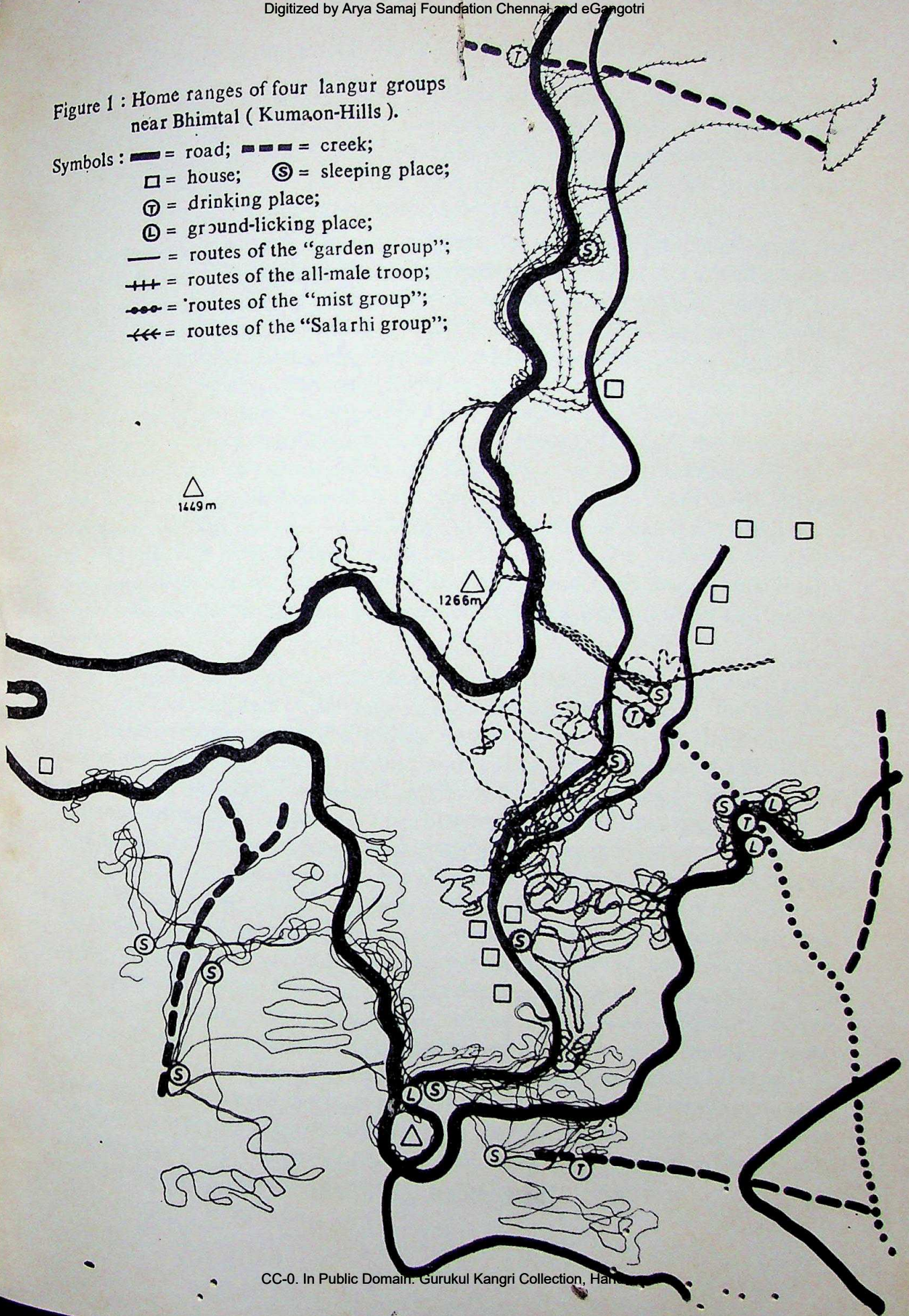
Figure 1 : Home ranges of four langur groups near Bhimtal (Kumaon-Hills).

Symbols : ▬ = road; ▬ ▬ ▬ = creek;
□ = house; Ⓢ = sleeping place;
Ⓣ = drinking place;
Ⓛ = ground-licking place;
—— = routes of the "garden group";
+++ = routes of the all-male troop;
●●● = routes of the "mist group";
<<< = routes of the "Salarhi group";



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dominance hierarchy whatsoever. The hierarchy of both sexes exists independently of each other. Generally, the males are dominant to the females; however, in some situations, a highly-ranked adult female can dominate a young male. The infants up to the age of juvenile stand outside of the norms of hierarchy. So to a certain extent, they enjoy social freedom.

Langurs are socially advanced animals, for which the process of group formation is one of the biological fundamentals of life. To this is added a second basic conditioning factor. The available territory is not divided between the single individuals, but between the social units. Each one of the groups studied possessed a definite home range or area with boundaries, which only after a considerable time of observation became easy to recognize. As shown in tab. 1, the size of the home range is mainly dependent upon the group size. The range is in no way equally exploited by the groups. Through the exact drawing of the daily routes we succeeded in pinpointing core areas of intensive use within the home range of each group (fig. 1.). The core areas include the main feeding places, the sleeping, drinking and ground-licking places, as well as the most frequent used paths between them. The ranges of two neighbouring groups can overlap on the boundaries to a certain degree; this is especially true for the boundaries between neighbouring mixed groups and all-male troops.

Two neighbouring groups meeting near the boundaries of their home ranges or in the overlapping areas may engage in encounters which, for the most part, remain mock encounters, seldom resulting in real biting or serious injuries; rather, the encounter can be settled peacefully by intensive stares and eventually through the use of acoustical and optical "displays" expressed by adult and subadult males. Serious injuries, however, can result from the exchange of hostilities between the members within the group (fights between rivals, punishment etc.). In 1-male groups, the dominant adult male usually runs to meet the intruder, in this way sometimes putting himself at a distance of several hundred meters from his group. In groups where more than one adult male is present, the adult and subadult males form a cooperative front. More serious, aggressive encounters between neighbouring groups occur relatively seldom, perhaps eventually more often in the Sariska region than in Bhimtal. However, a definite correlation was not established due to the short period of observation. In one instance, an encounter was observed in which three groups participated, two all-male troops and one mixed group. Besides these we were witness several times to encounters between the mixed center of the "large mixed group" and the peripheral all-male units. The following general conclusions can be drawn from the group encounters we observed ;

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1. The success in handling an intergroup dispute is primarily dependent neither upon the number of individual members of the group nor upon the number of active participating males nor upon the territorial position of the place of encounter. More decisive are, evidently, the courage and self-confidence of the participating males. For example, a single courageous male from a mixed group can drive off a complete troop of about 40 males in a quick frontal attack. Essentially, the females do not actively participate in the encounter.

2. The success is independent of the individual size of the participating males. Even a considerable number of large males from an all-male troop can be driven off by the attack of a plucky sammler α–male of a mixed group.

3. In general, the attacker appears, at first at least, to be the victor, since he is usually the more courageous with more self-confidence at this moment.

4. The core areas and/or the presence of female group members and infants concentrated around one or a few males appears to impart a certain amount of support. In any case we regularly noticed that males from mixed groups conducted themselves more confidently and considerably more aggressively than those from all-male troops. In any case the former have more to lose than the latter.

5. Finally, it is obviously not a question of fights the purpose of which is to extend the territorial possessions or to change the boundaries of the home range. The purpose is, rather, to chase off the offender, who is sometimes pursued deep into his own home range. After their triumph, the winners remove themselves immediately back to their own territory and the boundaries of the home range remain essentially the same. It is, then, definitely not primarily a matter of obtaining or defending food, drink or licking sources; rather, the aggressive intergroup encounters appear to be more of a means of preserving the groups' integrity.

The preservation of the group structure as well as the territorial relationship to the neighbouring groups demands a differentiated system of communication. This includes optical as well as vocal signals. Forms of communication for large distances must be developed as well as those for more intimate interactions at close distance. In the optical sphere, such methods as facial expression, gestures and postures are an effective means of communication at short distances, especially in interpersonal contact of group members with one another. For longer distances, optical signals such as branch-swaying and charging displays of the males are clearly recognizable. Acoustically there are such expressions for short distances as contact, search and threat vocalizations in intragroup-contact and on the other hand for greater distances, piercing alarm, charging-display

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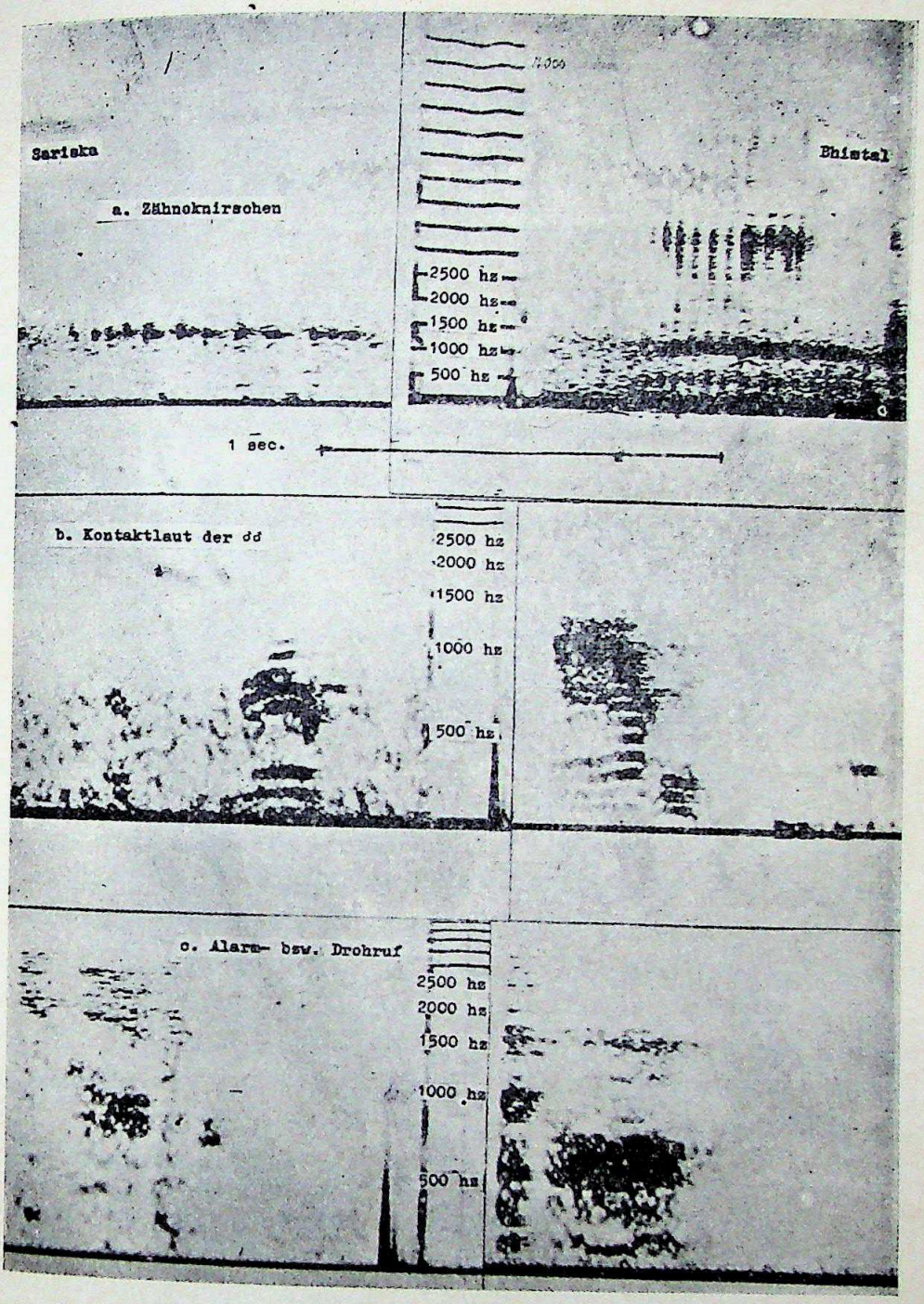

Figure 2 : Sonograms of three typical vocal sounds of langurs in both habitats : left : Sariska (Rajasthan); right : Bhimtal (Kumaon-Hills) a. teeth grinding; b. contact sound; c. alarm call

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and threat vocalizations. The repertoire of the means of communication is definitely limited and specifie to the species, that is, hereditarily determined. Our analyses of the acoustical signals of communication by tape recordings and the resulting sonograms indicated definite differences in the vocalization repertoire as well as in the function and performance of the given sounds between langurs of both regions (cf. for example, fig. 2).

For instance, the following differences in acoustical methods of communication were determined :

1. Unlike the Sariska langurs, the Bhimtal langurs did not conduct "whoop-concerts", which are audible over several kilometers and serve to mark territorial position. The corresponding vocalization occurs only sporadically by the Bhimtal langurs as a reaction to unexpected disturbances.

2. Whereas the males of the Kumaon langurs, as far as they occupy a dominant position, regularly emit a well-articulated contact sound, with the Sariska langurs this sound is refined, less articulated and on the whole closer to a grunt, and it is expressed not only by dominant males. The sonogram (fig. 2b) indicates the differences in this vocalization between the Kumaon langurs and the langurs of Sariska. Evidently a clear contact vocalization of the dominant male plays an important role in smaller 1–male groups towards integrating the group.

3. The alarm call for predator which we heard at Sariska several times was at no time heard for this purpose during our stay in Bhimtal. I registered the deep variation of this call one time from an adult male in Bhimtal during a dispute with a rival (fig. 2c). Perhaps this is an instance of an extension of the function or even a functional change in a vocalization.

4. The threatening teeth-grinding by the male, which fulfils an important function in both regions during hostilities between rivals, is indicated by the sonogram (fig. 2a) as being somewhat different in both regions. Although the tones are almost similar in pitch, the frequence of the individual elements for each time unit is definitely different. This could be a matter of "dialect-difference" between the two subspecies of langurs.

Among the differences of optical communication, the following was above all the most notable. Only the females of the Sariska region (incidentally, also those langurs of the Ganges plains and Central India studied by JAY and SUGIYAMA) actively solicited the adult males for copulation during their estrus period by presenting themselves before them while shaking their heads back and forth and sideways and beating the earth with their hands. We never observed this form of soliciting among the females of the Bhimtal region. Perhaps an obvious emphasis upon sexual readiness of the females is more important among

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larger groups than in smaller ones, in which a closer contact of the females to the few or the single adult male (s) is present. It should be noted here that the female langurs do not show any physical indication of their estrus condition, neither the swelling nor the coloring of the genital area.

The attempt to correlate certain differences which we observed in the group organization, in the social structure and in social behavior among individuals to the ecological factors of the different habitats remains first of all hypothetical. A few hypotheses succeed in establishing a considerate degree of credibility when parallel instances are proven to exist among other species of monkeys. According to our research the following relationship may exist between the specific environment and the differences in social behavior between the langurs in both habitats.

The lower, narrow-branched trees of the dry Sariska region considerably increase the dangers of predation for the langurs which must seek the ground more often, even during flight. As is true of other primate species studied in their natural habitat, such a situation leads to the formation of larger social units, which are more able to defend themselves and to frighten or confuse the predator and which, in addition, according to the conclusions of many observers, increase the group's general alertness. One result of an increase in the size of the group is the extension of the home range boundaries. It is also possible that the scarcity of water sources during the dry months in Sariska is a factor of considerable influence here. The organization of larger groups demands a great deal of tolerance on the part of the many adult males among themselves.

Correspondingly, in the Sariska region there is no evidence of the pronounced sexual jealousy and the strict dominance hierarchy which were to be observed in the smaller langur groups of the Kumaon Hills. In addition, the organization of large groups increases the tendency to form temporary subgroups (peer play units, all-male units, mother subgroup etc.). It appears then, that the special case of large-group-organization with peripherial all-male units described is a result of the extraordinary size of the group. The scarcity of safe sleeping trees and the formation of larger social units could very well be the reason that the langurs of the Sariska region distribute themselves over a wider area for sleeping, indicating also a tendency for building up "sleeping subgroups". In the larger groups of the Sariska region with the numerous females which are less restricted to one particular male, a respective female actively solicites the male, exciting his sexual attention through special gestures and body position. The female langur in the Bhimtal region indicates no such behavior. In the smaller social units of the Kumaon langurs the dominant males constantly

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direct the attention of the group toward themselves through vocal and optical signals, a type of behavior which the males of the Sariska groups did not practise to such a degree. The vocal marking of the group's position to neighbouring groups is evidently most effective in the plains; the corresponding "whoop-concert" is not present in the Kumaon Hills. Perhaps this otherwise typical langur vocal expression is not effective as a means for locating group positions in the diverse mountain region full of various acoustical barriers and confusing echoes and has consequently been abandoned.

We see that evidently the partially ecologically determined group size, besides the size of the home range, influences the form of social organization, the structural pattern and the communicative behavior of the group as well as the individual behavior of group members among themselves.

Without a doubt, we are dealing with inherent factors of natural selection. However as our research has indicated, the langurs, in reference to the type of social structure of their groups, possess a considerable degree of variability which is not dependent upon the various ecological conditions of their environment. This variability also indicates that these highly developed primates possess only a relatively loose frame work of fixed inherited patterns of social behavior, which are species-specific.

This hereditary frame work of genetically programmed social behavior seems to be given by the following factors :

1. The social unit is based on mutual individual recognition of the group members, which in turn is the basis for the hierarchy which controls aggression and orders and integrates the group. At the same time this is one of the factors which limits group size.

2. The societies possess extensive home ranges which evidently serve as a trusted "home" area and which is more or less differentiated from the unknown environment outside the home range. The home range of the group is the center of all normal activities, the area in which social relations are established and continued, which offers security and support and in which traditions are developed.

3. The dominant position within the society is held by the adult males; the number of adult males and their reciprocal relationships determine the social structure of the group as well as the group behavior as a whole.

4. Only males form special unisexual units outside of the heterosexual societies. Most males during their lifetime belong to more than one society and therefore are more flexible in changing groups and home ranges than the females. Correspondingly, their repertoire of social behavior by experience is more likely

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to be larger than that of the females, a statement which we believe varified by the results of our studies of the all-male troops.

5. The females, on the other hand, are in this respect more conservative, since their store of experiences as a rule stems from one specifically structured society, namely, the group into which they were born. Accordingly, they show themselves more tied to the home range and also, most likely, more bound to tradition.

Naturally it is definitely still too early to be able to draw conclusions on the basis of the field studies concerning the social behavior of higher non-human primates conducted until now, in regard to the special phylogenetical framework of human socialization. However, through the intensive study of numerous species of monkeys and apes in their varied natural habitat, definite possibilities for the reconstruction of certain basic social patterns of our immediate ancestors, the early Hominids have already become clear. These possibilities have been expanded upon by palaeanthropology, which today is researching intensively the ecology, that is, the habitats and life style of the early hominids through the fossil finds in Africa, Asia and Europe.

Behavioral studies of non-human primates in their natural habitats have become a promising source of information for the anthropologists. Our own field studies of the langurs of India are hoped to be a useful contribution in this direction.

Tab. 1 : *Group size, size of home ranges, and population density*

Region	Name of the group	Number of group members	Size of home range (km^2)	Population density per km^2
Bhimtal (Kumaon-Hills)	Salarhi group	15		about 97
	mist group	19	0,2	
	garden group	29	0,3	
	Kurali group	>30		
	all-male troop	10	0,1	
Sariska (Rajasthan)	Kaligathi group	>30		about 104
	large mixed group	125	0,8	
	rock group	62		
	temple group	30		
	all-male troop I	43		
	all-male troop II	13	0,4	
	all-male troop III	9	0,5	

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Tab. 2 : Composition of some bisexual langur groups by sex and age

Region	Name of the group	♂♂ adult	♂♂ subadult	♀♀ adult	♀♀ subadult	Juveniles	Infants
Bhimtal (Kumaon-Hills)	Salarhi group	3	–	9		–	3
	mist group	1	–	9	2	4	3
	garden group	2	1	17		7	2
Sariska (Rajasthan)	rock group	1	1	31	8	18	3
	bisexual center of the large mixed group	24		36	8	25	6

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THE BURNING TO DEATH OF KING UDAYANA'S 500 WIVES A CONTRIBUTION TO THE UDAYANA LEGEND [1]

BY

ERNST WALDSCHMIDT (Göttingen)

I

Introductory Remarks

Udayana, Udena in Pāli, King of the Vatsas, and a contemporary of Buddha, is the main character in a number of Indian legends. He resided at Kauśāmbī, situated to the south of the Yamunā (Jumna) in North India, not far from the present Allahabad.

F. Lacôte in 1908 briefly summarised all the amazing things which were said about the king with the following words : [2] *"Mystery surrounded his birth. Magical powers helped him to regain the throne of his forefathers which he had lost. He knew the magic which tamed the elephants and never abandoned the magic lute presented to him by the divine ascetics or the snake gods. He possessed carriages which flew in the air. He had contact with the genii... He was a gallant knight, a seducer, highly devoted to pleasures, loved by women and born under a lucky star... His whole life consisted of amorous adventures and love dramas. One of his wives in a fit of jealousy, burnt the palace in order to remove her rival".*

It is well-known that Pradyota, King of Avanti, ruler of a neighbouring state succeeded in capturing Udayana and in taking away his magic lute by alluring Udayana to a hunt for a wooden elephant in which he had hidden a great number of armed men — as Odysseus did in the Trojan horse. However, Udayana managed to escape by using all sorts of tricks, with Vāsavadattā, the beautiful daughter of his opponent who had fallen in love with him.

This royal Don Juan found entry even in the Buddhist religious literature. A whole series of narratives in which Udayana represents the main character is available in two places, namely in the Udenavatthu, a commentary to Dhammapada [3], a collection of stanzas (in Pāli), and in the Avadānas XXXVI

1. Modified translation of a paper "Ein Textbeitrag zur Udayana-Legende", published in "Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen", 1968, as No. 5.

2. Félix Lacôte, Essai sur Guṇāḍhya et la Bṛhatkathā, Paris 1908, p. 268, in the chapter "Les Sources de la Bṛhatkathā".

3. Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā, Ed. PTS, Vol I, pp. 161-231; E. W. Burlingame, Buddhist Legends, translated from the original Pāli of the Dhammapada Commentary, Part I, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1921 (Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 28), pp. 247-293.

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(Mākandika) and XXXVII (Udrāyaṇa) of Divyāvadāna, a collection of legends (in Buddhist Sanskrit).[1] It is certain that the paragraphs in question of Divyāvadāna along with a few modifications were taken over from the Vinayavibhaṅga of the Mūlasarvāstivādins[2] which is an extensive canonical work dealing with the discipline of the Buddhist monks. Only parts of this text have come down to us in the original Sanskrit but the work is complete in the Chinese and Tibetan translations. The narratives which correspond to the Mākandika – and Udrāyaṇa-Avadāna of Divyāvadāna appear in this Vinaya as an introduction to Pātayantika Dharma 82,[3] a law regarding the entry of monks to a king's palace.

Leaving aside the many other narratives referred to by Lacôte, the present article will analyse only the one which narrates the jealous deed of one of Udayana's wives who sets the palace on fire to eliminate her rival and her retinue of 500 women.[4] The occasion for this paper arose on the discovery of a new Sanskrit version of this drama of jealousy which is contained in four leaves of a Central Asian manuscript from Murtuq, in possession of the Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften of Berlin. A diplomatic transcription of the text (adding facsimiles) and a description of the manuscript will appear under Cat. No. 1098 in

1. Ed. Cowell-Neil, 1886, pp. 515–544 and 544–586.

2. Cp. Sylvain Lévi, Les Éléments de Formation du Divyāvadāna, T'oung Pao, Sér. 2, vol. 8, 1907, pp. 105–122, and Edouard Huber, Les Sources du Divyāvadāna (Suite) in Études de Littérature Bouddhique V, BEFEO, 1907, separate print pp. 1–37.

3. The Chinese translation of the treatment of Pātayantika Dharma 82 embraces chapters 44–48 of the text. See Taishô Edition (T. I.) Vol. 23, pp. 866c–893c. The correspondence to the Udrāyaṇa-Avadāna (= Divyāvadāna XXXVII) comes before the correspondence to the Mākandika-Avadāna (= Divyāvadāna XXXVI). Nobel records in his edition of the Tibetan translation of the Udrāyaṇa-Avadāna that the correspondence to his text in the Chinese translation of the Vinayavibhaṅga — a work of I-tsing in the years 703–710 — is found in vol. 23, pp. 873b–882a; see Joh. Nobel, Udrāyaṇa, King of Roruka, a Buddhist narrative, Part I, Wiesbaden 1955, p. IX, Footnote 1. Huber says, 1c. p. 3, about both the Avadānas in Divyāvadāna : "These two Avadānas are only one in reality : the compilator of the Divyāvadāna tore the original unity in two pieces and reversed the order of the two parts, leaving a gap in between them corresponding to the six pages in the Chinese Text".

4. Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā, 1. c., pp. 220–225; Burlingame, 1. c., pp. 288–290 (entitled "Burning of Sāmāvatī and punishment of Māgandiyā"). In his introduction Burlingame says, 1. c. p. 63 : *"Brief outlines of the story occur in Buddhaghosa's Visuddhi-Magga, XII. 169 ff., and in Schiefner's Lebensbeschreibung Cākyamuni's (from Kandjur), p. 47 (247). The burning of Sāmāvati and her five hundred women is the subject of Udāna, VII. 10"*. In Divyāvadāna the narrative of the murder with its consequences is found on pp. 531–544. A résumé of the text (or its Chinese correspondence respectively) is given by Lacôte. 1. c. pp. 260–262.

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part IV of the Catalogue "Sanskrit Manuscripts found in Turfan" which is under publication.[1]

The leaves – which are marked as d, e, f, g below – are unfortunately not quite complete. The remains represent from half to two thirds of the original folios. Dr. Else Lüders, the wife of the famous Indologist of the Berlin University (1869-1943), had made a first transcript of the fragmentary text some decades ago and hinted at Udayana and Divyāvadāna p. 541 at that time because these names appeared in the text. However, she could not carry out a correct arrangement of the pages because their text deviated strongly from that in the Divyāvadāna. Luckily, not long ago, I succeeded in finding out a parallel text in the Chinese translation of the Vinayavibhaṅga of the Sarvāstivādins,[2] an old Buddhist sect which was a contemporary of the Mūlasarvāstivādins.... The Vinaya of this school — lost in the original Sanskrit to a large extent — deviates from the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins. The introduction to Pātayantika Dharma 82 for instance, is far less comprehensive,[3] and its wording much simpler than is the case with the Mūlasarvāstivādins. The Sanskrit text of our leaves d, e, f, g of Cat. No. 1098 coincides rather accurately with this version of the Sarvāstivādins.[4] This is the result of the treatment of the text below where I am going to give, in individually numbered paragraphs, first the contents of the narrative dealing with the burning to death of Udayana's 500 wives according to the Chinese translation of the Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins and in the second place the text of the Sanskrit fragments along with their English translation. To give a prelude to the Sanskrit fragments by an analysis of the Chinese version is necessary as the Sanskrit is too fragmentary to be intelligible without this help.[5]

In the concluding part III of this paper I shall comment upon the relation of the new Sanskrit Text with the parallel texts in the Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā as well as in the Divyāvadāna (or Vinayavibhaṅga of the Mūlasarvāstivādins respectively). A discrepancy between the wording of Pātayantika Dharma 82 and the main point in the introductory stories will be shown up at the very end of the paper.

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1. Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden, herausgegeben von Ernst Waldschmidt unter Mitarbeit von Walter Clawiter und Lore Sander-Holzmann, Wiesbaden, Teil 1965, Teil II 1969, Teil III 1970.

2. T. I. Vol. 23, pp. 124c–126c.

3. An analysis is given by Valentina Rosen in her work "Der Vinayavibhaṅga zum Bhikṣuprātimokṣa der Sarvāstivādins", Berlin 1959, pp. 207–209.

4. Starting T. I. Vol. 23, p. 125c, Line 7.

5. In the following text clerical mistakes and forms deviating from correct Sanskrit have been indicated in conspicuous cases only. Hence incorrect writings passed over

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II

The Sanskrit Fragments

1. King Udayana [1] of Kauśāmbī has 1000 wives : two groups of 500 each, headed by the favourite wives Śyāmevatī [2] and Anopamā. [3] The group led by Śyāmevatī is characterized as virtuous, the one led by Anopamā as wicked.

2. When a part of the country revolts, the king has to take the field to suppress the rebellion. Before going away, he reflects upon the personage, he could leave behind as administrator of the city without taking risks.

d 0 1	Translation
/// yo vā apakṣālo vā syāt* yamevāhaṃ taṃ janapadapradeśaṃ pragrahaṇāya g. ///	"(How) should it be that (no...) or defect takes place, when I myself (leave) for that part of the country for suppressing (the rebellion ?)"

3. The king says to himself that the brahmin Māgandhika, [4] Anopamā's father is sharp-witted and virtuous besides being his father-in-law. When taking the field, he could leave him behind as his Regent without risking any harmful consequences, a source of later remorses.

d 0 2	
/// m*kam ca śvaśura etam ahaṃ nagaraguptiṃ sthapayeyaṃ asya me'ntikāt* na kācit*vi... ///	"? And (he is my) father-in-law. I could commission him to watch over the city. From his side (there will be) no... for me.

4. The king, as per his reflection appoints the brahmin as the administrator of the city and goes to suppress the rebellion. The news of Māgandhika's appointment spreads in the city and the countryside.

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silently should not be considered as printing mistakes in our paper. Preference for writing letters with *virāma* — marked by an asterisk in the transcription— is striking. Akṣaras which cannot be read clearly are given in cornered brackets; what is supplemented, is given in round brackets.

1. The name Udayana (Chinese : *YU-t'ien*) appears on the leaf g in 0 (obverse) 1–3 and 0 5.

2. The name Śyāmevatī (Chinese : *She-mi-p'o-i'i*) is recorded on leaf d R (reverse) 2 and 4, leaf e R 1 and leaf f 0 5. Variations of the name in the other versions are Śyāmāvatī in Divyāvadāna and Sāmāvatī in the Dhammapada Commentary.

3. The name Anopamā (Chinese : *A-nu-pO-ma*) is given on leaf d in R 4. In Divyāvadāna the corresponding name is Anupamā; the Pāli text calls her Māgandiyā.

4. In this form the name of the father (Chinese : *Ma-chien-t' i*) occurs in a separate fragment containing only a few words, Cat. No. 1097 (0 3) : *māgandhiko br (āhmaṇaḥ)*. Divyāvadāna has Mākandika and Pāli Māgandiya.

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d 0 3

/// (s) [th] (ā) payitvā svayam eva taṃ janapadapradeśaṃ pragrāhanāya gataḥ (|) tataḥ nagareṣu janapadeṣu [śa] (bdo visṛtaḥ)

Translation

After he ... had appointed, he left for that part of the country for suppressing (the rebellion). Then (the news of Māgandhika's appointment) spreads in the cities and the countryside.

5. Early the following morning hundreds and thousands of people collected at the door of the brahmin; some of them were singing hymns of praise, others were presenting felicitations, ... yet others were showing their respect and devotion with folded hands.

d 0 4

/// divase prāṇaśatāni prāṇasahasrāṇi nagaradvāre sthitvā kecin maṅgalāni paṭhaṃti | keci [t] (st) [o] (trāṇi) ///

Translation

On (the following) day hundreds of human beings, thousands of human beings (were there). Standing at the city gate some recited felicitations, others ... songs of praise.

6. Amongst these assembled at Māgandhika's door were some who presented him with elephants, horses, carriages, vehicles, cattle, sheep, camels or donkeys and others who brought him gold, silver, beryl, corals and emeralds.

d 0 5

/// (a) śvoṣṭragogardabhaḥ paśava[1] hiraṇyasuvarṇamaṇimuktivaiduryāṇi[2] (|) tasyaitad abhavat*ya ///

Translation

(There were those who presented him) horses, camels, cattle, donkeys, small cattle (or) uncoined gold, coined gold, jewels, pearls, beryl. The thought came to him : "If (I) ...

7. Māgandhika reflects that whatever wealth, honour and power he attains, he owes it all to his daughter. How can he repay her? If he presents her gold, silver, beryl, corals or emeralds, they have no value because she has enough of these in the harem.

1. A corresponding list of (domestic) quadrupeds in Suttavibhaṅga of the Pāli canon enumerates : *hatthi assā oṭṭhā goṇa gadrabhā pasukā* (The Vinaya Piṭakam, Ed. Oldenberg, Vol. III, p. 52).

2. A similar but more comprehensive enumeration of gold, pearls, and precious stones is found in Avadānaśataka I. 184 : *hiraṇyasuvarṇamaṇimuktāvaiḍūryaśaṅkhaśilāpravāḍa*. For a still more extensive list see Divyāvadāna 291. 10.

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d R 1

/// [t] k[iṃ] mayā tasyāḥ kṛtaṃ vā syāt pratikṛtaṃ vā (|) tasyaitad abhavat* yad idaṃ hiraṇyasuvarṇama [ṇi] (m)[u](ktivaidūryaṃ) ///

Translation

..."What could be done by me for her or done in repayment ?" He reflected : "The uncoined gold the coined gold, the jewels, pearls, (and beryl) here"...

8. Māgandhika says to himself, female hate, jealousy and ill will mostly concentrate on a rival. If he killed Śyāmevatī and her 500 women, it would be the right repayment for all what he owed to his daughter.

d R 2

/// [m] asyedṛśam amanāpaṃ yad uta sasapatnaṃ (|) yady emāni[1] śyāmevatīpramukhāni |[2] paṃcastrīṣatāni ///

Translation

"For a woman (? mātṛgrāmasya) (there is nothing) which is so unpleasant as the existence of a rival. If (I) (killed) these five hundred wives headed by Śyāmevatī"...

9. Māgandhika decides to kill Śyāmevatī and her retinue. However, he cannot do this directly, he tells himself. He must employ trickery. He will get rid of the women by calling forth a conflagration.

d R 3

/// (śyāmevatīpramukhāni paṃca strīśatā)ny ahaṃ jīvitād vyaparopayiṣyāmi (|) sa copāyajñaḥ kliṣṭabuddhiḥ (|) bhavaty asya (|) na mayā śakyaṃ e[va] ///

Translation

"I will kill (the five hundred wives headed by Śyāmevatī). He was rich in cunning and his thinking was corrupt. The thought came to him : "I cannot, however, allow myself",...

10. In execution of his plans Māgandhika sends a messenger to the Queen Śyāmevatī to tell her that for him there was no difference between her and his daughter Anopamā. If she was in need of butter, oil, straw, hay (for firing), wood, barks of trees and resinous wood, she should send somebody to fetch them.

d R 4

/// (śyāmevat) yā dutaḥ[3] preṣitaḥ (|) yat khalu śyāmevatī jānīyāṃ*[4]

Translation

(Then) a messenger (from him) was sent to Śyāmevatī (with the

1. Instead of *imāni*.
2. Punctuation is out of place here.
3. Instead of *dūtaḥ*.
4. 1sg. for 3 sg.; cp. Edgerton, Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar § 25. 27.

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yathā me anopamā duhitā evaṃ ///

message) : "Śyāmevatī should know this that she means) as much (to me) as my daughter Anopamā".

11. Māgandhika gives the order to responsible persons (concerned) that if the servants of Śyāmevatī came and asked for butter, oil etc. they should be given twice or three times the quantities.

d R 5

/// si | tatra ye sthāpitāḥ teṣām ājñaptaṃ yat tā striyo 'pahareyus tad dvigu(ṇaṃ) ///

Translation

...Those who were appointed (administrators) there, were ordered: "Whatever these women want to take with them, they (should be given that) twice, (thrice over)".

12. Responding to the avarice and the hoarding instinct of their nature which misleads females to store the easily available things, these women store the available material in all the empty places in the palace like box-rooms, window niches, protruding balconies, pavillions and the space under the beds. They accommodate overflowing pots and all sorts of vessels everywhere.

e O 1

/// (vātā) yana–avalokanasaṃkramaṇāṇi[1] | śayanā ca karṇaprāsādāh | pur [i]...

Translation

Windows, peepholes, galleries and sleeping places, extensions, (projections ?)...

13. When Māgandhika finds that there is plenty of inflammable material in the palace, he orders the doors to be closed and the building to be set on fire. People who hear that the palace has caught fire are seized with fear of the king's anger.

e O 2

/// (t) v (ā) agnim utsṛṣṭa (ḥ |) tato nagareṣu janapadeṣu śabdo visṛtaḥ (|) rājakulām ādīptaṃ r(āj) [ā] (ntaḥpuraṃ) ///

Translation

After he had..., he set the fire free. Then the news spread in the cities and the countryside : "The king's palace is in flames, the harem of the king"...

14. Many people collect in front of the palace with the intention of breaking open the gate and entering it. Māgandhika, cunning and malevolent as he is, understands that the women would survive if the people succeeded in entering the palace and extinguishing the fire.

1. In Divyāvadāna, p. 221. 29 the following enumeration of architectural forms is given : *gṛhāḥ kūṭāgārā harmyāḥ prāsādā svāsanakā avalokanakā saṃkrāmaṇakā.*

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e O 3

/// (mahājanakāyaḥ saṃni) patitaḥ (|) te rājakuladvārāṇi bhettum ārabdhāḥ (|) sa copāyajñaḥ kliṣṭabuddhiḥ (|) bhavaty asya (|) yadi rā (ja) ///

Translation

(A great number of people) assembled. They set about to break open the palace gate. He (Māgandhika) was rich in cunning and his thinking was corrupt. The thought came to him : "If (they succeed in breaking open the gate of the) palace"...

15. Māgaṇdhika hinders the breaking open of the palace gate by reproaching the people that if the king were to hear that somebody had entered his harem, he would consider it a disgrace to his wives and would fly into a terrible (rage).

e O 4

/// haṃ bho grāmāṇi mā rājakuladvārāṇi bhinnata[1] | rāja ca irṣyako matsarī (|) sa evaṃ vade (d) dvārā (ṇi) ///

Translation

"You chiefs of the village, I (?) (warn you against) breaking open the gates of the (residential) palace. The king is jealous and envious. He might say the following : The gates"...

16. When the people ask as to what they should do, Māgandhika recommends that ladders be made out of wood and that they should intervene from above. The people do so. They collect pieces of wood and make ladders. While this is being done, Śyāmevati and her five hundred women die.

e O 5

/// (niśraya) [ṇyo] badhnata[2] yaṃtra (kara ?) karmāṇi kuruta[3] | te yenāntareṇa niśrayaniśryaṇyo[4] badh [n] aṃ [t] i ///

Translation

"Bind together ladders, get ready for the employment of instruments !" While they bound the ladders together,...

17. A messenger informs the king that a fire has broken out in the palace and that the Queen Śyāmevati with her five hundred women perished in the fire.

1. Instead of *bhintta*. Edgerton, BHSG, records under *bhid* the 2nd pl. impv. *bhindata*.
2. Instead of *badhnīta*.
3. Instead of *kuruta*.
4. *niśraya* is written twice, perhaps by mistake.

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e R 1

/// tāni (|) rā [jño] duto[1] gataḥ (|) yat khalu deva jānīyāḥ (|) rājakulaṃ dagdhaṃ śyāmevatipramu [kh] (āni) ///

Translation

(Still belonging to paragraph 16 :) ... died (? *kālagatāni*). (Paragraph 17 :) A messenger goes to the king : "O King, may you know that the palace is burnt down and the (five hundred women) headed by Śyāmevati (have perished)."

18. On knowing of the incident, the king laments that he is now for ever separated from beings of such virtue (*puṇyakṣetra*), worthy to be loved. Confused by deep sorrow, depressed and yearning for death, he sinks on the bed. The officials bring him back to consciousness by sprinkling water on his face.

e R 2

/// tādṛśaṃ ghanaṃ daurmanasyaṃ paridāghaś ca jātaḥ yo mūrcchitvā pṛthivyāṃ patitaḥ (|) sa tair amātyair u(dakena) ///

Translation

Such deep grief and (such) sorrow overcame (the king) that he fainted away and fell on the ground. The ministers (revived him back to consciousness by sprinkling him with water).

19. The officials pray to the king not to be sad and not to grieve. They would build a new palace for him and find substitutes for the women of his harem who were burnt to death.

e R 3

/// (a) laṃ deva mā tāmya motkaṇṭha mā paritasya (|) vayam anyad rājakulaṃ kārāpayiṣyāmaḥ (|) anyad anta(ḥpuraṃ ca) ///

Translation

"Enough, King ! do not be distressed, do not be melancholic, do not be disturbed. We will have a new palace built and (procure) other women for the harem".

20. The king returns after suppressing the revolt but stays outside the capital vowing that he would only enter the city after the new palace was ready and the harem filled again with five hundred women.

e R 4

/// [p] (ra) [t] (y) ā (gāt | sa) [ta] sya nagarasya sāmantake pratyasthāt* evaṃ cāha | tāved itam[2] nagaraṃ na pravekṣy [ā] (mi) ///

Translation

... (The king) returned. He stopped near the city and announced : "I will not enter this city, as long as..."

1. Instead of *dūto*.
2. Instead of *idaṃ*.

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21. Under pressure of the king's authority to punish, the power of his sword and the vigour of his anger, the palace is constructed quickly (by the subjects). Then five hundred women are chosen to fill the harem (from amongst the daughters) of the respectable people, landlords and men of wealth.

e R 5

/// [ā] śu rājaṛdhyā anyad rājakulaṃ kāritaṃ (|) yeṣāṃ cotsadānāṃ manuṣyāṇāṃ ///

Translation

As a result of the paramount power *(ṛddhi)* of the king, another palace was built quickly. (The most attractive were chosen) from (amongst the daughters) of prominent people ... and put in the (royal) harem.

f O 1

/// (an) t(aḥ) puram praveśitāni (!)

22. The most excellent out of the (number of now again) thousand women of the king was Śrīmatī, the daughter of a landlord named Ghoṣila and a younger sister of the (perished) queen Śyāmevatī.

f O 1 (continuation)

ghosilasya gṛ [ha] pateḥ śrīmati [1] nāma dārikā abhirū(pā) ///

Translation

A daughter of the landlord Ghoṣila bearing the name Śrīmatī of great beauty,...

23. The officials inform the king that a new palace was ready and the number of women complete. The king would know what should be done.

f O 2

/// (ta) [t] (a)s tasya rājña ārocitaṃ (|) yat khalu deva jānīyā anyad rājakula(ṃ) kāritaṃ anyad a(ntaḥpuraṃ)

Translation

The (ministers) then informed the king : "May you know, O King, that the building of another palace has been brought about (and that) the other harem... (is ready)".

24. The king visits the new palace and indulges in lovemaking and pleasures with his new women. Then shame overcomes him and on investigation he gets to know that the brahmin Māgandhika, to please his daughter Anopamā, had committed the wicked deed described above.

f O 3

/// (tābhi) ḥ sārdhaṃ krīḍati ramati paricārayati paripṛcchati parimargati | kena me i (dam ?) ///

Translation

He played with them, made love (and) dallied with them, (then) he asked questions (and) investigated : "Who has (at that time done this affront) to me ?..."

1. Instead of *śrīmatī*,

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25. The king calls Māgandhika and orders him to leave the country immediately, adding that he did not want to have him killed because he was a brahmin. The queen Anopamā, Māgandhikā's daughter is, however, executed on the king's command.

f O 4

/// (? agne)ḥ prayogena (|) sa tam āhūyaivaṃ āha | gaccha brāhmana nirviṣayaṃ te [v] yā (diśāmi ?) [1]

Translation

...through the use of (fire). He (the king) called him and spoke to him: "Go, brahmin, I declare (?) you as driven out of the country".

26. The new women are devotees of Buddha and eager to convert the king too. They appeal to him that as Śyāmevatī was devoted to Buddha, he should allow them also to worship Buddha and his congregation.

f O 5

/// (eva)m āhuḥ deva śrutam asmābhi(r) yāni tāni śyāmevatīpramukhāni paṃca (str) [ī] (śatāni) ///

Translation

They spoke thus: "King, we have heard that the five (hundred) women headed by Śyāmevatī...We (too want to worship (the Buddha and his congregation)".

f R 1

/// ...paryupāsema |

27. The king objects that Buddha had forbidden the monks to enter the king's palace.

f R 1 (continuation)

sa tāsāṃ prativekṣepaṃ [2] karoti (|) yat khalu dārikā jānī [y](āta) [3]

Translation

He objects to them: "Girls, you should know that"...

28. The women decide to flatter the king's pride and speak of his possessing great majesty, virtue and power. He could execute even really difficult things, how much more such a small matter. They repeat their request that he should concur and make possible their personal worship of Buddha and his congregation.

f R 2

/// te grāhayaṃti | devo h[i] puṇyavāṃ śrīmān maheśākya(ḥ!) anyam api devasya [a] (nyaṃ) ///

Translation

They took him at (his pride) "The king is virtuous, full of splendour and of great power. It is a different thing for the king, something else (for)"

1. The recognisable remains of the first syllable suggest the reading [d] yā which does not seem to make sense to me.

2. Instead of *partivikṣepaṃ*.

3. The text could also have had the 3rd pl. *jānīyuḥ*.

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29. On repeated requests the king is inclined to allow the women the personal worship of Buddha, but he investigates once again whether they earnestly had the intention to see and worship him. When they reply in the affirmative, the king asks them to keep the presents ready to the best of their ability.

f R 3

/// yam tā evam ahur arthinyaḥ (|) tena hi yūyam upasthāpayataḥ yasyā yad u ///

Translation

...They said : "We have the intention". "Then keep ready, what each (one of you have, as a gift)."

30. The women keep three types of monk robes (*saṃghāti uttarāsaṅga* and *aṇtarvāsa*) ready as alms together with other requirements of monks like begging bowls, sieves, water and oil vessels, sticks and containers for needle and thread. Then the king calls the mechanics.

f R 4

/// (a) [n](ta)rvāsaḥ pātraṃ parisrāvaṇaṃ yaṣṭir alāmbupānahau sucigharaṃ (|) sa dvitīye diva (se) ///

Translation

Undergarment, begging bowl, sieve, stick, bottlegourd, sandals (and) needle container. He, (the king) (called the mechanics) on the following day.

31. The king asks the mechanics whether a way could be found for the women of the harem to worship and make gifts to Buddha and his congregation without leaving the palace. When the mechanics reply in the affirmative and the king enquires how it could be done, he is told that it can be done by building a palace hall[1] movable on wheels. The king orders that this be done quickly.

f R 5

/// (bhaktena?) parivesṭuṃ | ta evam āhuḥ (|) labhyam deva cakrayuktaṃ prākāraḥ āśudaṇḍaḥ ca pa ///

Translation

(Is it possible that a meal) is served (to Buddha and his congregation ?). They (the mechanics) reply in the following manner : "It can be achieved, O King. A wall which is furnished with wheels (can be built), which has a quickly movable stick (grip ?)..."

1. The Sanskrit text speaks of a wall provided with wheels (*cakrayuktaḥ prākāraḥ*). Professor Dieter Schlingloff suggested by letter the interpretation of *cakrayuktaḥ prākāraḥ* as a wall joined to a turning platform, and to understand *āśudaṇḍaḥ* which follows in the Sanskrit text as "quickly rotating round a pivot".

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32. When the king receives the information that the palace hall movable on wheels is ready, he leaves for Buddha's place of residence.

g O 1

/// [ca]krayuktaḥ prākāraḥ (| ya) syedānīṃ deva(ḥ) kālaṃ manyate | atha rājā udyano yena bhagavā(ṃ)s t(e)nopasaṃkrānta upasaṃ

Translation

"The wall furnished with wheels... (is ready). Whatever the king considers right, (may be done)". Then the King Udayana went to Buddha's place of residence. Having arrived...

33. When Udayana arrives at Buddha's residence, he bows at the feet of the Master and takes a seat to one side. Buddha preaches the various aspects of the doctrine to him and becomes silent after this has been amply done.

g O 2

/// (n) [ya] ṣīdat* ekāntaniṣa(ṃ)-ṇaṃ rājāṇaṃ udayanaṃ bhagavāṃ dhārmyā kathayā saṃdarśayati samādāpayati samutte[1]

Tanslation

...(Udayana) seated himself (to one side). The Exalted One instructed the King Udayana who had seated himself to one side, with a religious discourse, prepared him to be receptive, excited him...

34. When Udayana realises that Buddha has ended his sermon, he gets up from his place, covers his right shoulder with his robe and folds his hands in reverence.

g O 3

/// (dhā) rmyā kathayā sandarśayitvā samā(dā)payitvā samuttejayitvā saṃpraharṣayitvā tūṣṇīm atha rājā udayano

Translation

(After the Exalted One has) instructed (the King Udayana) with a religious discourse, has prepared him to be receptive, excited him and put him in a happy state of mind, he became silent. Then King Udayana...

35. Udayana requests the Exalted One to accept an invitation for himself and the congregation for the next day. Buddha accepts by keeping silence.

g O 4

/// (sa) muttejitaḥ saṃpraharṣitaḥ utthāyāsanād ekāṃsam uttarāsaṅgaṃ kṛtvā yena bhagavāṃs tenāṃjaliṃ pra[ṇ](amya)

Translation

(The King) whom (the Exalted One had instructed by a religious discourse, who was prepared to be receptive), excited and who was put

1. Restore : *samutte (jayati).*

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g O 5

/// (sā)[rdh Jaṃ bhikṣusaṃghena (|) adhivāsayati bhagavāṃ rājña udayanasya tūṣṇī [ṃ*] bhāvena (|) sa bhagavataḥ tū (ṣṇ) ī (ṃbhāvena)

in a happy state of mind, got up from his seat, placed his upper robe on one shoulder, bowed to the Exalted One with folded hands (and spoke to the Exalted One): "May the Exalted one, along with the congregation of monks, accept an invitation for a meal tomorrow". The Exalted One accepted the invitation of the King Udayana by remaining silent. When he (realised that) the silence of the Exalted One (meant acceptance), ...

36. When the King Udayana realises that Buddha has accepted the invitation, he bows his head at the feet of Buddha, goes round him holding him to his right side and departs from there.

g R 1

/// (prada) kṣiṇīkṛtvā bhagavato 'tikāt prakrāntaḥ (|) yena svakaṃ niveśanaṃ tenopa s(aṃ)krānta upasaṃkramya tāṃ[r](āt)[r](iṃśu)[1]

Translation

He went round (the Exalted One) holding him to his right side and then departed from the vicinity of the Exalted One. He went to his own residence. When he arrived there, he (ordered to prepare) during the night clean, (selected solid and liquid food), ...

37. In the night King Udayana orders all kinds of selected dishes and drinks to be prepared. After the daybreak, he has the seating arrangement completed. Then he sends a messenger to Buddha to inform him that the food was ready and that Buddha would know what should be done.

g R 2

/// rātriṃ śuciṃ praṇītaṃ khādanīyabhojanīyaṃ samudānīya kālyam evotthāya āsanakāni prajñapya[bha] (ga)

Translation

After (Udayana) has clean, selected solid and liquid foods provided during the night, he gets up early in the morning and has seating arrangements completed. He informs the Ex-

1. Restore : *śuciṃ*.

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g R 3

/// sadyo bhaktaṃ yasyedānīṃ bhagavāṃ kālaṃ manyate (|)

alted One (about the time through a messenger : "It is time Revered Gautama), the meal is ready. Whatever the Exalted One considers right, should be done".

38. The monks leave for the palace. Buddha himself remains behind (at his residence) to receive a portion of the meal there only.

g R 3 (continuation)

parviṣṭo bhikṣusaṃghaḥ (|) bhagavān aupadhi tiṣṭhati abhinirhṛtapi [ṇḍa][1]

Translation

The congregation of monks went. The Exalted One remained behind without partaking of (and) received alms food (at his residence).

39. At the time when the mechanics come to know that the congregation has arrived, they get the (rotatory) palace on wheels moving and surround (with that) the whole congregation. When the king comes to know that the monks are seated he himself takes the water round and offers with his own hands selected drinks and dishes in plentifulness. Then he opens the door of the palace.

g R 4

/// saṃghaṃ viditvā ca[tu]rbhyo digbhyaḥ sthitvā tam antaṃ laghulaghv eva samaṃtataḥ paricārayitvā rājakuladvārāṇi vi

Translation

After (the mechanics)[2] came to know that the congregation (had taken seat), they made from all the four directions, where they stood, that end (?) move around easily, easily (and opened) the gates of the palace.

40. The ladies of the harem come out of the palace and confront the monks.

---

1. Restore : *piṇḍa (pātaḥ)*. Is *aupadhi (ke)* to be supplemented ? Divyāvadāna has at the corresponding place : *bhagavān aupadhike sthitaḥ*. Lévi in his translation of Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra, Paris 1911, p. 204, footnote 3, defines *aupadhike sthiti* as : "refus de se rendre á une invitation, d'accepter un don matériel". It is said of Buddhas (for references see Edgerton, BHSD, s. v. *aupadhika* and *abhinirharati*), that due to five reasons they remain behind and do not partake of a meal. For instance : in order to preach to the deities, or to keep watch over the couches and seats, or to look after a sick person. One can expect that in such cases *ātyayikapiṇḍapāta* (cp. Divyāvadāna 50. 25 and 26) i.e. an exceptional meal is served to them. Edgerton translates *aupadhike sthitaḥ* "remained (without partaking of) the material gift" and *abhinithṛtapiṇḍapātaḥ* as "when alms-food had been produced (entertainment provided by a layman)".

2. Probably the mechanics are the subject of the fragmentary sentence. The remaining words could eventually refer to Udayana's activity at the entertainment of the monks.

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Some enquire about father and mother, about sisters and brothers; the others enquire about Buddha (who had remained at his residence).

g R 5

/// .[y]. kakulopagānā(man) [t] (i) kenāpṛcchaṃti mātur arthāya pitur arthāya bhrātur arthāya bhaginīr arthāya bhagavato

Translation

...(the ladies of the harem) ask the (monks), who were regular visitors to the families (related and connected to these women) about mother, about father, about brother, about sister, (further) about the Exalted One.

The Sanskrit text breaks off with g R 5. The Chinese translation further reports that after the appearance of the ladies of the harem, reverend Śāriputra gets worried as to whether he is in (the zenana of) the king's palace which was against the order of Buddha. This moment however, after the monks are fully satisfied, the entertainment ends and the king makes his women bring their presents. When the monks, being abundantly provided with robes, begging bowls etc. by the ladies of the harem, remain seated, the king mentions that he leaves it to them to now break up. As the path by which the monks had come, is now obstructed, they have to go through the palace. They point out to the king that the entering of the inner portion of the king's palace is forbidden by Buddha. The king replies that he was directing them to go out and not to come in. Then Śāriputra and the congregation get up from their seats and after giving thanks go away. On their return to the monastery, they describe their experience in detail to Buddha who after praising the maintenance of discipline in the order, allows well-founded and defined exceptions to enter a king's palace.

III

The Corresponding Texts

Correspondences with the text of the new Sanskrit version (Sa) of only a general nature are found in the commentary to Dhammapada. In this Pāli text too, a jealous woman, Māgandiyā by name, instigates a relation to set fire to the palace of her rival. The helper of the evil-doer is her uncle Māgandiya whom she wins over in her plot to murder her rival Sāmāvatī. But there is nothing about the king going to battle against a rebel; the means to produce a fire are also quite different than those in the version Sa. Uncle Māgandiya wraps the wooden pillars of Sāmāvatī's palace in oil soaked pieces of cloth, shuts the rival and her maid-servants in the palace and sets fire to it with torches. Before the alarmed king arrives, the palace is burnt down and the women are killed. The king who realises that this is a case of arson possibly caused by Māgandiyā, seeks to catch her with the help of a trick. He explains to his mini-

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sters that for a long time he had the suspicion that Ṣāmāvatī was after his life. Now indeed he could again sleep in peace. He who has removed this danger, certainly loves him very much and deserves a reward. When Māgandiyā hears this, she boasts of her deed. The king feigns to grant one wish not only to her but also to her relations. Thereafter Māgandiyā's relations collect in large numbers. Once they are altogether, the king has them buried in chest deep holes, has straw sprinkled on their heads and sets fire to them. For Māgandiyā he orders an intensified punishment. Before she is killed, he gets pieces of flesh cut from various parts of her body which are then boiled and which she has to eat herself.

Differently from the Pāli text of the Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā there appear in the corresponding texts of Divyāvadāna (Divy.) and of Vinayavibhaṅga of the Mūlasarvāstivādins (Mū) [1] a great number of similarities with the version Sa even in details. The names of the main characters are nearly the same. The person committing the wicked deed is called Anopamā in Sa and Anupamā in Divy. In both the versions the helper is Anopamā's father, a brahmin called Māgandhika in Sa and Mākandika in Divy. This brahmin, according to both the versions [2] is appointed the city administrator by the king when the king himself goes to fight an uprising. Generally the Divy. is more lengthy than Sa, the description is more complicated; often it is logically incoherent. Anupamā who from the very beginning is determined to use the increased authority of her father to murder her rival, has for instance, first to put pressure upon her father who is afraid of losing his life. He agrees to participate in the plot only when his daughter threatens to use her influence so as to bring him into disgrace with the king later. Mākandika's further deliberation is, that he cannot just kill the rival in a straight forward manner because the king, before his departure, had repeatedly instructed him to look after Śyāmevatī's welfare and to treat her worthy of her position. He, therefore, must use a trick. He personally goes to Queen Śyāmevatī and enquires whether she has any wishes. The queen declares that she is well provided. However, being a pious devotee of Buddha she asks for birch bark as writing material, sesam oil (for lamps), ink, brush and reed for writing with, so that she could along with her retinue

1. The following observations mainly rely on the Sanskrit text of Divy. For Mū those statements are used which Huber has made in the article quoted above on p. 367, footnote 2. There is general correspondence of Divy. and Mū besides some deviations of secondary importance. It falls beyond the scope of this publication to follow the differences between Divy. and Mū which would afford the investigation of the Tibetan translation of Mū too.— The version represented by both the texts will be marked as Divy. Mū hereafter.

2. Divy. 531. 11; Mū : Huber, l. c., p. 24; T. I. Vol. 23, p. 892a, line 12.

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of five hundred women copy Buddhist texts.[1] The brahmin sends the women large quantities of birch bark, oil etc. all easily inflammable material and then sets fire to the palace. With a sword in the hand, he obstructs the people who have hurriedly gathered to extinguish the fire : "Stop", he says, "all you want, is to see the women of the harem". A technician who tries to get the burning portion of the palace broken off, is also held back. Śyāmevatī does not lose her self-control in this calamity. After reciting suitable verses[2] she jumps with her five hundred women into the fire "like a moth". All except one perish.

After all, the king has to be informed of the terrible accident. In Divy. Mū version this is done in a complicated manner[3] which has no parallel in Sa. A special officer who has the job to deliver bad news is prepared to act only under certain precautions for his personal safety. He insists that all incidents of the conflagration must be painted on a cloth in different scenes so that he could place these before the eyes of the king without any verbal communication.[4] Then he takes with him an army consisting of four types of troops and goes to a distant region. From there he writes to Udayana introducing himself as a king and offering confederation against the rebel who had sofar withdrawn from a fight. In return he feigns to want Udayana's help against the God of Death who has taken away his son. Udayana realises that this benevolent king must be mentally disturbed but accepts the help offered. When the rebel finds the two armies advancing towards him, he sees his chances dwindle and surrenders. The messenger of bad luck, disguised as a king, goes to see Udayana and demands that his part of the agreement is now honoured. Udayana says : "Dear friend, you are foolish. Has anyone been able to bring one back from the clutches of the god of death ?" Then the messenger invites him to look at the cloth with the portrayed scenes of the conflagration and to remember what he had just said. When Udayana observes the sequence of the

1. Mū is less extensive than Divy., contents of which have been summarised above. Huber refers to Mū, 1. c., p. 24. f.

2. Divy. 532. 27–533. 3; Mū contains only the second stanza (1. c., p. 892a, line 25–26).

3. Divy. 534. 27–537. 17; Mū (substantially shorter), 1. c., p. 892b, line 8–27. Huber 1. c., p. 25.

4. The method of informing somebody of remarkable events through a painted sequence of scenes is repeatedly used in Indian Art and Literature. See Mahāparinirvānasūtra, Ed. E. Waldschmidt, p. 490–495, (King Ajātaśatru of Magadha is informed of Buddha's death through a painting") and E. Waldschmidt, Miniatures of Musical Inspiration I, Wiesbaden 1966, p. 25 (refers to the painter Sālivāhana who in Agra in 1610 A.D. illustrated an event at the imperial court by painting a whole row of scenes on a scroll of paper, almost three meters long which was sent from Agra to a respectable Jaina monk in Gujarat for his information).

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scenes, he correctly concludes what has happened but still wants to confirm whether it meant that the five hundred women including Śyāmevatī were burnt. The messenger in a verse[1] now confesses that he is neither a king nor a prince but a humble servant of the king fulfilling his duty to inform him of the calamities. Udayana once again looks at the scenes carefully and reads all the details. When he says: "You say that Śyāmevatī is burnt ?", the messenger replies: I do not say this but you, the king are saying so". On hearing these words, the king calls the messenger who is happy to have found this clever form of communication because otherwise the king would have cut off his head with a sword immediately. Then faintness seizes the king. He is, however, quickly brought back to consciousness by pouring water on his face. On his return to Kauśāmbī, Udayana orders that the brahmin Mākandika and his daughter Anupamā be burnt in the torture chamber (yantragṛha). The minister in charge who is expecting the king to change his mind as is usual with kings, keeps Anupamā alive and only imprisons her in an underground dungeon (bhūmigṛha). He is right in this because after seven days the anger of his master has disappeared. When Udayana enquires about Anupamā's fate,[2] the minister confesses his disobedience which the king readily forgives. Anupamā is brought to him. Though she has been starved for seven days, much to the king's surprise, her beauty has not suffered in any way. The king believes that a lover must have befriended her. She denies this and requests him to ask trustworthy Buddha for the explanation of her good looks. In the version Mū, Buddha, when enquired, narrates a story from the past according to which Anupamā –at that time a daughter of a kṣatriya– on the suggestion of her friend, the daughter of a brahmin, gave alms to Pratyekabuddha. For this deed she is granted her wish that in her future lives she will not suffer from hunger.[3] The result is that Anupamā escapes death in the version Divy.Mū as contrasted with the fatal fate of the evil-doer Anopamā in Sa.

Srīmatī, daughter of the gṛhapati Ghoṣila, appears as a wife of Udayana also in the Divy.Mū version.[4] Corresponding to the version Sa, Śrīmatī tells Udayana one day of her wish to see the monks. When the king raises an objection to the monks visiting the harem, she sulks and stops taking nourishment. Thereupon, according to Divy. (542. 1 ff.), Udayana informs his father-in-law

1. Divy. 537. 4–7; Mū. 1. c., p. 892b, line 26–27.
2. Divy. 537. 4–7; Mū, 1. c., p. 892b, line 26–27.
3. The corresponding passage in Divy. 541. 7–18 does not know of this finale.
4. According to Divy. 541. 19 she is the rebirth of one of the two friends who made gifts to Pratyekabuddha. This somewhat absurd connection of Śrīmatī with Anupamā in a former birth is not found in Mū.

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Ghoṣila whose house is immediately adjacent to the palace, of the condition of his daughter and her wish to see the monks. The king suggests to Ghoṣila to invite the Buddhist congregation for a meal to his house and to break an opening[1] into the palace from his residence. Ghoṣila acts accordingly and opens a door in the dividing wall. Then he goes to Buddha and at the end of a sermon, invites the Exalted One and his congregation to a meal on the following day. Buddha accepts. When a messenger comes on the next day to inform that everything is ready, Buddha—as in the version Sa—remains at his residence. Under the leadership of Śāriputra, the congregation visits Ghoṣila's house and is entertained there. In the discourse of Śāriputra which followed, Śrīmatī takes part. However, her move from the palace to Ghoṣila's residence through the opening in the wall is no more mentioned. Instead of that the text reports that the famous disciple of Buddha tries in vain for a long time to get Śrīmatī to comprehend the four truths of the Buddhists. When the sun sets and the other monks take leave, Śāriputra alone remains behind to complete the preaching. Finally he succeeds in securing Srīmatī in the four truths. He returns to the residence of Buddha, finds his master and tells him in detail what has taken place. Buddha praises him and changes the rule for visiting palaces to this extent that for a valid reason, the monks may stay on in the king's palace even after the sunset.[2]

This exception relates to an offence of Pātayantika category appearing under

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1. A paragraph from the Dhammpada Commentary (Part 1, p. 210) may be compared here where the five hundred women of Queen Sāmāvatī's retinue carry on a conversation with a maid servant who has been converted to Buddhism. Burlingame, 1. c., p. 282 translates : *"Woman, we should like to see the Teacher. Show him to us, that we may honor him with perfumes, garlands, and so forth". "My lady, it is a serious matter to live in a king's house. You have obtained access to it, but it is impossible for you to leave it". "Woman, do not destroy us. Let us see the Teacher". "Well then, make holes in the walls of your rooms large enough to look through, Then bring perfumes and garlands and when the Teacher goes to the door of the house of the three treasurers, stand in your several places and look out and stretch forth your hands and pay obeisance to him and honor him".*

2. Some details in the report of the invitation to the Buddha and of the visit of Śāriputra and the congregation differ in Mū (1. c., p. 893b, line 11–25) from those in Divy. : Udayana himself visits Buddha and is the host. Huber, 1. c., p. 26, summarises the contents of the concluding passages in Mū as follows : *"Śrīmatī wishes to receive the monks at her home and asks King Udayana to invite them. Udayana invites Buddha and his disciples. Buddha sends Śāriputra. At the time when Śāriputra delivers a sermon to the queen, the sun sets at the horizon. The queen has not yet fully understood the truths. Contrary to the interdiction of Buddha, Śāriputra remains in the harem upto the time when she attains the fruit of the śrotāpannas. Having come back into the presence of Buddha, Śāriputra is praised by his master to have acted like that".*

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number 82 in the formulas of confession for monks (Bhikṣuprātimokṣa) in the schools of Sarvāstivādins and Mūlasarvāstivādins. In the present form, as handed down to us, the rule forbids the monks to enter the harem of a king during the night i.e. between the sunset and the sunrise. [1] On perusal of the main features in the introductory narratives in the versions Sa and Divy. Mū we have to state a remarkable divergence of narratives and rule. The construction and the use of a wall running on wheels or of a movable part of a palace in Sa as well as the breach of a wall to enter the palace from the house of Ghoṣila in Divy. is not in keeping with the interdiction of the entry of monks in the royal palace after sunset. The stories would be suitable only for a total day- and night-prohibition to visit the harem by monks. We have to conclude that once there was a stricter version of the rule, totally prohibiting the monks to visit the interior of a royal palace. This rule seems to have been modified later on. Some years ago Professor Dieter Schlingloff, [2] then of Kiel University, has judiciously pointed out several interesting examples of discrepancies between the introductory stories and the formulation of rules in the Vinayavibhaṅga. He already referred to Pātayantika Dharma 82 in the version Sa. On the basis of the first introductory story — the second i.e. the Udayana legend remained unconsidered — he remarks : "*The rule in any case clearly expresses that the monks are forbidden to cross the door (indrakīla), i.e. to enter the palace of the king at all. The introductory story, however, narrates that a monk had entered the royal sleeping chamber before the queen was dressed; therefore the prohibition only applies to entering the bedrooms when the royal couple was still inside (aniṣkrānte). Here too the attitude of the later congregation asserts itself to whom it was out of question that in the times of Buddha the monks were allowed to go in and out of the king's courtyards*". The same author makes the following comment on the relation of the actual Vinaya rules to the introductory stories : "*Whereas the rules themselves belong to the oldest time of Buddhism, the narratives are part of the youngest layer of the original canon. They still could be at will enlarged, changed and exchanged by the individual schools. They are of little merit as regards narrative achievement and also as regards explanations of the rules of the Prātimokṣa. However, they gain importance in another respect. One can see in them not only the treatment, enlargement and migration of the narrative material but beyond it the origin also*".

1. Valentina Rosen, l. c., p. 209, translates the Pātayantika Dharma 82 from the Chinese as follows : "*When a monk crosses the door or the threshold of an anointed Kṣatriya King as long as night is not gone and the jewels are not locked, it is a Pātayantika offence except when he has a valid ground.*" Cp. the translation of the rule according to Pāli and Sa which Dieter Schlingloff has given on p. 547 of his essay cited below in footnote 2.

2. Dieter Schlingloff, Zur Interpretation des Prātimokṣasūtra", ZDMG, Vol. 113 (1963), pp. 536-551.

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LIVING GODDESSES, PAST AND PRESENT, IN NORTH-WEST INDIA

BY

SIGRID WESTPHAL-HELLBUSCH (Berlin)

The belief of the Charans that some of their women are living goddesses and that every woman may become one, has sofar attracted little attention in literature. The community of the Charans is dealt with only casually [1] in the standard works on ethnic groups in India. The best description of the Charans is still to be found in Enthoven (8; I, 271–286), a book now nearly fifty years old. It gives details about their origin, sections, different occupations and some of their customs and beliefs. As it is not possible to enumerate them in this short paper, the reader is requested to look up the general remarks of Enthoven which will acquaint him with the community as a whole.

Some introductory information may be sufficient for the purpose of this article. The main habitat of the Charans comprises Rajasthan, North Gujarat, Saurashtra, Kutch and Lower Sind. Their number can only be estimated. According to Enthoven it is 32, 852 – significantly this estimate is based on the census of 1901. Since then their number has definitely not diminished, but it will be difficult to get a more up-to-date estimate. According to an official estimate, their number in Saurashtra in the year 1951 was 27, 056 (9; 483). Though well-known in their habitat, they are little or not known at all outside it, because the famous Tod was only interested in the historical accounts of the Rajputs given by Charans and not in the history of the Charan community. It will be shown in this paper that it was chance which led to their comparitive obscurity for they made a deep impression on the social life and folklore of the neighbouring people.

The people in Rajasthan, Sind, Gujarat and Saurashtra calling themselves Charan, usually maintain that they belong to one community though they give different names to their sections according to the region in which they live. The subdivision as such is always the same : the whole community is divided into three and a half *pahada* or *para* which formerly may have been groups bound by common descent and territory but which today only regulate mar-

1. As around 1930 Census reports and Gazetteers stopped using caste names in favour of caste-free designations like "Hindu", "Moslem", "agriculturist" or "shepherd" etc. and as a modern monograph on the Charans is not available, short informatory items about this community are contained in older books and gazetteers only. Literature given under numbers 1–7 is worth mentioning.

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riage relations. The most common names for these *paras* are : I Nara, II Chorada, III Chumvar, IV Tumbel or Tumer. I, II, III have two sub-branches whereas IV has none. This is the main reason why IV is called a half *para*. The elaborate legend explaining this fact must be omitted here. The two sub-branches of a para exchange girls in marriage, thus forming three endogamous sub-groups of the community whereas the Tumbels have always to contrive exogamous marriages. Although on principle marriages with other groups of Charans are not forbidden and should not be considered degrading, the Tumbels have the lowest rank in their community for being dependent on others to find life partners for their children. The sub-branches of the endogamous *paras* stand in the relationship of *mama* (mother's brother) to *bhaneja* (sister's son) giving the following diagram, when the *mama* section comes first in the second line :

Para	I Nara	II Chorada	III Chumvar	IV Tumbel
Subbranches	1 Nara	3 Chorada	5 Chumvar	7 Tumbel
	2 Avasura	4 Maru	6 Bati	

Each *para* or its sub-branches have numerous sub-groups, called *shakhas*. The total number of *shakhas* varies between 300–600. The marriage relations between *shakhas* are according to the super-ordinate sub-branch and para.

The name Charan is possibly derived from the word *charna* (grazing) but other more fanciful derivations are considered to be more convincing. According to the myth of their origin their ancestor was the original guardian of Nandi, the sacred bull of Shiva. This is the reason why all Charans claim to be the original and genuine cattle-breeders, others were tradesmen, genealogists, bards or even beggars at the court of the Rajput chiefs. As bards they were chanting their praise, as *ghadavi* they were the guardians of their forts, as *polpat* (sitters at the door) they were their monitors and guardians of their honour. They shared safe-guarding functions with the larger caste of the Bhat. As both groups were prepared to sacrifice themselves *(traga)* to guarantee the safe conduct of goods entrusted to them, they were tax-exempt. Using their bullocks as pack-animals and having virtually a monopoly of trade in North-Western India, some Charans became very wealthy merchants and money-lenders. But all these developments would have been impossible if the Charans were not held in awe because they were believed to be gifted with special powers, derived from their being possessed by the goddess. Enthoven remarks (8; I, 285) : "It was the fact that the Charan was possessed that gave this special power to his blessing and curse which were laden with the spirit which possessed the curser. It was the belief in this possession that made the murder of a Charan the letting loose of the engaged unhoused spirit of a god or goddess as well as of a man, and

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therefore made the forcible death of a Charan so hideous and so heavily punished a sin."

One would expect to find this connection between possession and spiritual power even more pronounced with women but with regard to them Enthoven's information is scanty (8; I, 285) :

"The Charan women are supposed to have supernatural powers, and in Cutch are even now addressed by the lower classes as mother or goddess mother. Several of the most popular goddesses of North Gujarat are the spirits of Charan women who sacrificed themselves to guard the privileges of their caste."

These quotations give the impression that the main spiritual power is with the men of this community but all our informants in Kutch, Saurashtra, Gujarat and Rajasthan assured us that the women are spiritually more powerful. We had no contacts with the Charans in Sind, who may have other ideas but those in India agreed about the following beliefs : They are descendants of the or a goddess and call themselves accordingly *deviputra* (sons of the goddess). There are different versions of their legend of origin which can be divided into two groups according to their main theme. All of them start with the creation of animals and men by Parvati, the consort of Shiva or Lord Shankar, as he is usually called by the cattle-breeders. This she did when once Lord Shankar sat in a long penance. Parvati collected the dusty sweat of his body and playing with it formed – according to the first legend – four toy animals and four human figures. When Lord Shankar finished his penance, he brought animals and men to life. The animals created were a camel, a cow, a goat and a sheep. The first human being brought to life was a big, dark, unintelligent fellow called Shamal or Shambad. He was given the charge of the camel. The second man brought to life was of brown colour, powerfully built, better in behaviour and was given the goat and the sheep. The third toy yielded a well behaved singing man with a good voice. He was given Nandi and was asked to sing the songs of praise daily. He came to be known as Charan. The fourth man was given the charge of the fields and the gardens.

The second legend maintains that the animals were a lion, a cow, a goat and a serpent but only one human being was created to tend them. This difficult task was impeded by the lion which being hungry, wanted to devour the goat and the cow. The man offered some of his own flesh to pacify the lion. In acknowledgement of this deed, he was given Nandi, the sacred bull of Shiva. His duty was to graze him and hence he was called Charan, the herdsman.

The further course of the legend varies again. Either a Charan himself married a daughter of the Nagas, named Avad or Aval or a descendant of his

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son Nara married Avad. This Avad is believed to be an incarnation of the mother and stands second in the Charan worship, the first being Durga.

Interesting as the details of the legend of origin and their different versions are for the history and the culture of the Charans, they cannot be discussed here at great length. However, it should be noted that this legend had a definite impact on the present relations of this group to other ethnic groups. As Avad for instance, was a daughter of the Nagas and the Ahirs claim to be the descendants of the Nagas, the Charans call them *mama* (mother's brother) while the Ahirs call the Charans *bhaneja* (sister's son).

The most important consequence, however, of these legendary tales is that Avad or Aval became the key in the worship of goddesses and women as practised by Charnas. They believe that Charanis are incarnations of Avad who was born again and again. Most of the goddesses worshipped in Kutch and Saurashtra as for instance Khodiar, Ashapura, Ravechi, Momai etc. are in their eyes such incarnations. This is not regarded as a special presumption on the part of the Charan community, but is the common belief of all people of this area. Even Brahmans and Rajputs believe in it. There are many tales about the lives and deeds of these deified Charanis, some of which are given below.

The widely prevalent belief that the local goddesses in Kutch and Saurashtra were once living Charanis, is associated with other apparently old beliefs or with historical tales thus giving local roots to the cult of the goddesses. In Kutch some *matas* are connected with prince Rata Rayadhana, the red Rayadhana, so called because of the red turban he used to wear in battle as nowadays Rabari and Bharvad wear. Rata Rayadhana is said to have fought successfully against the invading Ghoris, besides having performed other well-known deeds. Slowly he gained supremacy over the whole of Kutch. After his death which occurred according to tradition in A.D. 1215 or later at the end of the 14th century, Kutch was divided between his four sons. Dadar, the eldest was given Kanthkot with large territories in the Eastern Kutch; Odha got Lakhiarviaro and surrounding areas; Gajan obtained Bara near Tera in the Western Kutch and Hotha, son of a second wife, got only a fief of twelve villages near Punari, between Bundra and Habaya. All the brothers were followers of Rudramata and as such claimed to have priority for ruling the island. A saint solved their quarrel by assigning a special goddess to every portion of land given to them and as all were incarnations of Rudramata, no brother could claim priority over the other. The *mata* assigned to Dadar's land was Ravechi, to Odha's land Rudramata, to Gajan's land Ashapura and to Hotha's land Habai-Mata.

The Charans claim that Ashapura and her incarnations were Charanis. Ashapura herself is said to be an incarnation of Hinglaj-Mata who was also a Charani.

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The legends about the origin of Hinglaj-Mata vary widely. She was one of the most famous goddesses in the Western region of the Indian sub-continent, and her sanctuary in Makran was much visited by Hindus and Moslims alike till 1947 when the political partition between West-Pakistan and India made pilgrimages very difficult. It is, therefore, quite common to meet persons in Kutch, Saurashtra and Gujarat who in their youth made the pilgrimage to Hinglaj which was a must according to many communities. According to historical tradition Hinglaj-Mata is the special protectoress of the Samma-Rajputs who are also connected with the historical Avad Mata, as will be shown later. Although all these relationships, beliefs and historical fictions of facts do not come within the purview of this article, the legend of Hinglaj-Mata as told by the Charans shall be the first example of tales told about the living goddesses of the past. The most popular version runs as follows :

Hinglaj-Mata was known as Kohana-Rani when living. This name is derived from the Hala-Hills in Sind, known formerly as Kohana, where she made her first appearance. Nobody was prepared to date this appearance. Apparently it falls in that mythical time when the Charans left the Himalayas to settle in the plains in India.

Kohana remained a virgin i.e. a *Brahmani Sarasvati* and was well versed in religious literature. This seems to confirm why one part of the Charan community has always been literate and allowed their highly esteemed women to learn as much as they were inclined to. In the Hala-Hills Kohana-Rani is said to have lived together with Tumbel, the half *para* of the Charan community. She inspired this group to work as missionaries of the mother goddess and led it herself to Bela in the present day Baluchistan. Here she came to be worshipped by many people as an incarnation of the mother and after her death, a temple was erected for her at Hinglaj. There is no image of Hinglaj-Mata as in many old temples of goddesses. There are only tomb-like erections of mud (10; 253–254) on a raised platform. Whoever made the pilgrimage to this sanctuary was expected to live a holy life ever after; he was supposed to become a *karmayogi* (somebody working for the good of others without expecting anything in return for himself); a *tapasvi* (one who does penance); and a *samnyasi* (somebody who performs all his worldly functions without ambition and selfish motives). Tombs of such *samnyasis* who after their death were not cremated but interred, can be seen in many places in Kutch.

Charanis' connections with historical tales of Kutch, Makran and parts of Saurashtra are possibly based on the belief that Ram Parmar of Telangana gave Kutch to some Charans (4; 75) about 700 A.D. These are today called

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Kachelas deriving their name from their habitat, as the Sorathias from Sorath (-Saurashtra), or the Marus from Marwar. A definite historical proof of this is found in the fact that land was given to Charans who were *dasondis* or bards of the ruling Rajput clans. *Dasondis* are those Charans who have the right to one tenth of the income of their patrons, a right which was acquired mainly, as we were told, due to their magic power to banish evil forces and ghosts.

The deified Charanis are furthermore associated with a very old and widespread belief in seven as a lucky number. So some of the goddesses are arranged to form a group of seven sisters to whom a male consort –a brother or an uncle– may or may not be attached. The seven sisters are not treated as mythical beings but as persons who once lived and whose remarkable deeds led to their worship even while they were alive. It is surprising how the names of the seven sisters differ from place to place although Avad is always amongst them and more often than not the most important one. The variations may indicate that a cult of seven sisters was well established in many localities and adapted to local traditions before any influence by the Charans could be felt. Some examples which we came to know are :

Ai Avad, Ai Hol, Ai Gel, Ai Rangali, Ai Repali, Ai Sansai, Ai Khodiar with brother Mihirak or Mahirakh (11; 15, given without local specification);

Avad, Itcha, Chachika, Huli, Reshpali, Guli, Langhwi or Langi and Khodiar (Rajasthan, Jodhpur);

Avad, Geli, Warpali, Assi, Singi, Hul and Kamel (the seven sisters of the Kachela branch.);

Khodiar, Varuli, Sansai, Hol, Gel, Avad, Vikai (East-Gujarat, Parthanpura-Nes.);

There are more of such groups, see for instance the seven goddesses of the Gir Forest.

The story of the historical Avad, believed to be either an incarnation of the celestial ancestress Avad or of one confused with her, is invariably connected with the reign of Hamir Sumra in the 9th or 10th century A.D. As the history of the Sumras, the ruling house in Sind before the Sammas, is obscure, due to lack of historical accounts and according to Abbott (12; 87–89), distorted by defamation through the historians of the court of the Sammas who turned Sunni-Moslems out, it is difficult to co-relate the Avad tales with a definite historical time and person. There seem to have been three Hamir Sumras and three Doda Sumras. If this is really so, or if persons and times got somehow mixed, it is too complex a question to be discussed here. However, the wholesale damnation of the Sumras often heard in Kutch, Sind and Saurashtra stands in con-

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trast to the traditions of the same people, especially of those groups of cattle breeders who migrated once from Sind to Kutch. One Doda Sumra was always mentioned as their protector who died in defending them against Moslem invaders. Thus one Doda Sumra protected the Charans and many died with him fighting against Ala-uddin Khilji (1296–1316 A.D.), who is mentioned in many tales from Gujarat and Rajasthan as the main Moslem enemy, even if this was historically impossible. Even today the Charan women wear woollen garments in mourning of this debacle. The woman of the Rabaris are mourning Doda Sumra, the same or a different one, who too protected them against Moslem invaders, by wearing white armrings of ivory. Even the much cursed Hamir Sumra, called Umar Sumra after his conversion to Islam, was a protector of the Rabari girl Sonal whom the Badshah of Afghanistan wished to marry against her will, she being a Hindu and he a Moslem. Again there was fighting and many casualties. Rabari women have been wearing black clothes ever since in mourning of this event.

This is the story of Avad as told by Charans; the dates given must not be taken too seriously as is the case with other stories too. Avad was born in Samvat 888 (832 A. D.) on the 9th of Chaitra in the dark half of the month. The sub-group of her father Mammad or Mamadio was Mada. He lived with his seven daughters in Vala, near Valabhi in Saurashtra. All the girls remained unmarried, an early sign of their holiness. Forbes gives a different explanation (13; 242–243). During a famine their father Mammad drove his cattle to Chalkhana in Sind. The followers of his daughter Avad who was since her childhood believed to be an incarnation of Hinglaj-Mata, went with him. When the seven sisters grew up, they became so beautiful that Hamir Sumra wanted to marry them all. Although he was already converted to Islam and bore the name of Umar, he still had some Hindu beliefs and practices. Relying on this, Mammad went to Hamir remonstrating that all the Rajputs regarded his daughters, because of their holiness, as their sisters and would not think of marrying them and that he too should do the same. But Hamir was infatuated and threatened to use force after a time limit of 40 days. Even Avad did not succeed in changing his mind. Avad then prophesied to her father that Hamir was doomed to perish. He would be killed by the Sammas who at that time dwelt at Sammasatta near Patiala, Punjab. They had arrived there from Kandahar with the intention of conquering Sind. As the wish was later fulfilled with the help of Avad, they called her Ashapura (asha = hope, purna = fulfilling) and since then Ashapura is the *kuladevi*, the family goddess of the Sammas. But as Avad was an incarnation of Hinglaj-Mata, Ashapura too is considered another form of this goddess.

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As Avad did appear to her father as an apparition of the mother goddess while prophesying Hamir's doom, her father could not but believe her and was ready to follow her advice. She wanted her family to leave for the Temara Hill (about 20 km from Jaisalmir). The journey was completed under her guidance. They had some encounters on the way which showed the divine powers of Avad. First they met Bakhla, a demon-buffalo which was kept by Hamir Sumra — although already converted — to be sacrificed to the mother goddess. These sacrificial bull-buffaloes had the privilege to go and graze wherever they wanted. This one was under the care of a Bhil who did nothing to prevent him from attacking Avad and her family. Avad killed the buffalo, drank some of its blood and became now thirsty for the blood of the king. She sent the Bhil to Hamir to announce his imminent death.

Her second encounter was with a Banjara who was leading one *lakh* bullocks loaded with sacks of sugar. Hamir had wanted to levy a tax on each bullock and his load but the Banjara had been unwilling to pay just for passing through as a tax awaited him anyway in Punjab where he intended to sell his goods. Hamir forcibly collected the tax. Avad and the Banjara met at the Sutlej or Mita Mehran which flowed then through Rajasthan. Avad emptied the river in three handfuls, thus enabling her family to cross the river. The Banjara, seeing this miracle, told his story to Avad and begged for her help. She advised him to load his one *lakh* of bullocks with sacks of sand and to empty them at the source of the river. The course of the Sutlej was thus altered and the lands of Hamir Sumra became barren.

Avad, after some time of installing her family, went back to Sind to get even with Hamir. She came to know that the king had confiscated all the land belonging to Charans in the hope that they would force Mammad to exchange his daughters for the land. Under the guidance of Avad, the Charans now commenced *dharna,* a kind of hunger strike, as a prelude to self-mutilation *(traga)*. They were joined in this by many Charans of the neighbouring countries thus giving the demonstration more weight. Avad herself went to the Sammas in Sammasatta, Punjab and to the Bhattis of Jaisalmir. Both Rajput clans had often requested her to favour the increase in their territory. She promised them that they would win the battle and the land of Hamir Sumra but she herself would have to lead the battle with *lakhs* of goddesses. The battle was won and Hamir killed by Avad; Jam Lakhiar, the Samma, founded Samma Nagar in Sind. This was the beginning of the supremacy of the Sammas in Sind and Kutch. The Bhattis got Thar Parkar. It is said that under Jam Lakhiar many Charans migrated to Sind. Later when they were oppressed by Moslems—Ala-

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uddin Khilji being again the main enemy — they migrated back to Rajasthan, Gujarat, Kutch and Kathiawar.

The temple of Avad-Mata in the Temara Hills is still to be dealt with. It is situated on the summit of a cliff about 50 meters high. The steps leading to the shrine go up from the plain and are flanked by some minor places of worship. Plates of wood or stone are placed on little platforms of stone or mud or on the bare earth. These plates contain stylised engravings of seven female figures and one male figure which is alternately called the brother or the uncle of the seven sisters. A roofed platform is built in front of the temple, originally only a cave. The platform is supported by walls which go down to the slope of the cliff. Above this temple, a little higher up, there are two more small platforms which serve as a base for some very simple houses of stone and mud, intended to give shelter to pilgrims and to the *bhuva,* the servant of the *mata* and the priest of the temple. The *bhuva* lives in the village Pilolai at the foot of the cliff and normally does *puja* (temple-service) every evening; but in the famine of 1968–69 the whole village was deserted and the *bhuva* was not available to give information. The buildings are relatively new and said to have been erected in A.D. 1831 by the son of a Raja, whose prayer was answered by Avad-Mata.

At the back of the cave is a small platform apparently made of mud which is used as an altar. There is no image of Avad-Mata, only the plates of wood or stone with the engravings of the seven sisters and their brother or uncle. They are to be seen everywhere in great numbers; small or large, they are piled on the altar, before it, against the walls and crammed between the roof-trees. Other offerings are rags of cloth, left behind by the pilgrims as a token of their pledge. Although there is no outward indication, everybody knows that the eldest sister i.e. Avad, has her seat in the middle of the altar; the younger sisters join her in the order of their age, the youngest having her place at the right end of the altar, as one stands before it. A wooden bench is placed on the ground on which two drums, to be used during the service, are kept. In the middle of the newly erected front structure is a stone basin which was supposed to be filled with water when *puja* was done.

When we visited the shrine in July 1969, the village Pilolai and most of the other villages in the vicinity were deserted, but it was quite obvious that very recently a blood sacrifice had taken place. Some hair and a few drops of blood could be seen before the altar. It was unanimouly declared to be the hair of a black goat. Nobody was pleased with this testimony of a blood sacrifice; it was said that the eldest sister, Avad, does not want such sacrifices whereas the younger sisters are not so delicate. These are unmistakably modern emotions

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developed under the influence of a militant vegetarianism. Only twenty-five years ago it was the accepted right of many communities to make blood-sacrifices to gods and goddesses, and the cult of the mother has always been a bloody one. Indeed, many traits of the cult of the mother cannot be understood if this fact is overlooked. Likewise the special powers of the Charanis who could curse and work miracles only when possessed by the mother, were connected with and rooted in blood-sacrifices. The incarnation of the *mata* had its special powers all the time.

The best descriptions of the folk-cults of the mother and the blessings gained by offering her black buffaloes or black goats are to be found in Whitehead (14). In North-Western India, the Charans, especially the Tumbel women, came closest to blood drinking which led to possession by the mother and to abnormal faculties. Today nobody wants to hear or speak about these now abhorred customs but they existed and are the essentials which lay behind the "possession" mentioned but not fully explained by Enthoven. The urge to drink blood was regarded as a sign that a woman was chosen by the *mata*, for it was a common belief that only those in the grace of the *mata* would and could drink blood. It was a sign of their temporary or permament divine status. Benedictions and curses of such Charanis were those of the *mata* herself and therefore much sought after or dreaded. Even the story of Avad relates that Avad had drunk some blood of the buffalo and was then thirsty for the blood of the king.

There are many instances of Charanis having been in the habit of blood drinking, for example they drank blood during the yearly offerings of seven buffaloes at Matanomadh by the Rao of Kutch and at the annual killing of one buffalo by the Maharaja of Jodhpur and Jaisalmir and by other Maharajas. Since 1947 the killing and the blood drinking has been slowly disappearing and the general tendency is to forget about it. One hundred years ago it was still in full swing as is proved by many testimonies. The Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency (3; 375) says :

"Kolis, Vaghirs, Dharalas, Rabaris, Ravalias and others sacrifice a male buffalo to their goddess Khodyar and Visot on the bright fourteenth of Bhadarvo (September), on Dasara Day in October, and on the dark fourteenth of Aso (October), Rajputs and Marathas, both chiefs and estate holders, sacrifice a male buffalo on the Dasara and sprinkle its blood on the goddess and on the town gates. In North Gujarat the Charan women meet together on the Dasara, worship a buffalo and then kill it, one of the women drinking some of the blood."

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Forbes, one of the most honest and sympathetic writers about Gujarat, tells of sacrifices for Ambaji-Mata (13; 324), which are nowadays unthinkable :

"Notwithstanding the more beneficient form in which the goddess here appears, she receives the sacrifice of animals which are slain before the image, and also offerings of spirituous liquors."

The Charanis serving at the religious rites of the ruling houses were able to take care of such functions because they were accustomed to similar rites in their own community. The sacrifice of a he–buffalo in the Gir Forest where Charans and Rabaris lived alike undisturbed until very recently and could offer the mata what was their custom, used to be rendered as it was described to us. But even these Charans are now beginning to give up blood sacrifice.

The Charans of the Gir-Forest called Sorathia are exclusively cattle-breeders. In the Gir Forest, because of the lions, they keep very few cows but a great number of buffaloes who attack the lions, protect the cows and, if need be, their mates. In keeping with the legend of their origin, –they were the graziers of Nandi originally– they declare to love the cows more than the buffaloes. However, they had to adapt themselves to the surrounding forest which meant that their way of life had to be simpler than that of any other group. These Charans worship seven *matas* too, but they are not regarded as sisters. Their names are : Pithad-Mata, Kalbaj, Katrodi, Rakshay, Bhisari, Sonadi, Sihori and Tibri.

Pithad is the most important *mata* in the Gir Forest. She only gets or did get sacrifices of buffaloes. Black goats were offered to other *matas* and to Pithad-Mata also. Although her main shrine is in the village Pithad near Malia, she also has a place of worship in the Gir Forest and in the *nes* Nanava. Here she is said to have been born and to have spent the first part of her life. The one room house of the *bhuva* of Pithad-Mata is partitioned by a one meter high mud wall. In the smaller portion stands a wooden tabouret, painted red which has symbols but no idols of the *mata*. The symbols are wooden plates, 15–20 centimeter high, decorated with eyes and *tilaks* in silver and brass. A good ghost dwells in a very small wooden dome and the soul of the last *bhuva* is housed in a stone beside it. Some *chattris* (hemispheres which open downwards) of silver are suspended from the ceiling and in a corner of the room, the stick of Pithad-Mata is kept. At other places she is represented by a tree and some stones in its shade as is customary for the other *matas*.

The *bhuva* of Pithad-Mata is a buffalo-breeder like everybody else. Whenever a faultless bull-calf was born to one of his cows i.e. jet-black without any white on his coat, it was destined to be the bull of the *mata* if there was not already a sacred bull. Such bull had many privileges like the Bakha in the

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story of Avad-Mata. It was specially fed, it never had to work, it could roam about at his own sweet will and nobody dared to refuse him food, water or place of rest. When the *mata* wanted its blood she sent a dream to the *bhuva* announcing her will. He then informed the whole community that a *jatar*, a general assembly was to meet and that the sacred bull was to be sacrificed. The corn oracle was used to fix the actual day of the sacrifice. A little heap of millet-seeds was put on the *bherio*, the old black woollen head-cloth of the Charan women, in this case an offering to the *mata* by the *bhuva*. Those present at the oracle decided whether even or odd numbers were to be taken as yes. Then one person, often the *bhuva*, started to take some grains from the heap and threw them on the bherio. It had to be yes 21 times and the oracle had to be repeated 5 times to be sure that the *mata* agreed with the date. Everyone was invited for the fixed day. The people of Nanava erected a canopy for the sacrifice, decorated it with a *toran* (a garland) of coconuts and put a wooden seat meant for the use of the *mata*, under it. The buffalo-bull came at the fixed time to the place of sacrifice. The moment he put his head under the canopy, it meant that the *mata* was willing to receive his blood. The sword to decapitate the bull was kept ready. Usually it was kept by a Maya-Darbar-Rajput who had to make the second stroke. The first was made by a Harijan. Both were representatives of two heroes in a legend of Pithad-Mata but it is a long story and of no importance in the present context. If the bull was not killed with two strokes, it signified that there had been a mistake in the procedure and that the bull was no longer wanted. This was a bad omen. When the bull was beheaded, the *bhuva* collected the blood which spouted from the neck, in a plate (tansli) usually used at meals. The oldest *bhuva* drank the blood first and the younger ones followed him. All the Charans assembled made a sign with blood on their foreheads. The *bhuvas* after drinking the blood, came to be possessed by the *mata*. They began to shiver and utter words. Now they could be asked questions and the *mata* gave the answers through their medium. After some time, they came out of their trance and the assembly dispersed. The *bhuva* was left with the task of raising a new sacrificial bull-buffalo.

It was denied by the Sorathia-Charans that women drank blood at their feasts but there is proof that they did so in some cases. It is with this background of a possible way to acquire supernatural powers that some of the following tales can be understood. It is remarkable that many village stories tell of feats of bravado and deeds of consequence with a childlike pleasure. It is the pleasure of the narrator to let his saints perform all sorts of miracles. If his saint stood competition from saints of other story tellers, his own saint had to surpass the deeds of the others, however inapt or ridiculous. The stories which are current

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in the habitat of the Charans, relate to the local cults and some local customs derive from them. However, these differences are only variations of the general idea that this is another rebirth and another incarnation of the mother goddess.

One very widely worshipped goddess is Khodiar who has already been mentioned as one of the sisters of Avad. She was the youngest sister and as such had a special standing. The youngest son too is very close to his parents as they stay with him after the older ones are married and left the house. In Bhavnagar and the surrounding area, up to Junagadh in the North-West and Baroda in the East and in the regions North-East to Baroda, Khodiar is the main goddess of many communities. She is not only the goddess of the Charans and other cattle-breeders but of the agricultural and kshatriya castes too e.g. Khodiar is the *kuladevi* of the Gohil Rajputs. Her story in this part of the country differs remarkably from that given above and shall be repeated here in Forbes' words. (13; 242–243). Again his remarks about blood-drinking are noteworthy :

"In the time of Ebhul there lived a Wullah, a Charun, a bard, named Mamureeo, of the Mad sect, who had seven daughters suspected of being Shaktees, and of sucking the blood of live buffaloes and calves. Ebhul Walo on this account sent for their father and ordered their expulsion from the city. Mamureeo called his daughters and said to them 'You are Shaktees, no one will marry you and the Raja orders that you should depart hence.' The seven sisters prepared to obey, and at starting agreed among themselves that whenever the temple of any of them should be found in a village the other sisters should leave the place and proceed onwards. The eldest of the sisters was lame, and hence named Khodeear. The others preceded her and she limped after them, but to whatever village they came, they found shrines already dedicated to the worship of Khodeear Devee, so powerful was her name. Temples of Khodeear Mata are still numerous in every part of Goozerat; vows are made, and offerings of buffaloes and calves presented to her."

One of the deeds of Khodiar connects her with Ra Navaghan, also Naughan or Noghan, a Chudasama on the throne of Junagadh who is said to have died in 1044 A.D. (5; 532). In other tales Khodiar is replaced by Varuli or in the Gir Forest, by Pithad-Mata. In his youth Ra Navaghan was kept in hiding by an Ahir-chief who gave shelter to his mother while fleeing after her husband's death. Ra Navaghan regarded the son and the daughter of his foster parents as his brother and sister. During a famine the Ahir went with his followers to Sind where Hamir Sumra ruled. Seeing the beauty of Jahal or Jesala, the daughter of the Ahir, Hamir Sumra fell in love with her and wanted to marry her. When father and daughter refused the proposal, Hamir Sumra threatened to use force,

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In her distress Jahal sent for help from Ra Navaghan. He at once collected a force and marched it to Sind. On the way he passed a village of the Charans where Khodiar lived with her six sisters : Varuli, Sansai, Hol, Gel, Vikai and Avad. Varuli provided 9 *lakhs* (900,000) of Ra Navaghan's men with one single bread and still everyone got enough. Ra Navaghan, impressed by this miracle, begged for the blessing of the seven sisters. Khodiar fulfilled his wish and promised to help him. She predicted that his mission would be successful. When his army reached the sea, the water receded and he and his men were able to march on safely and arrived in Sind with dry feet. Hamir Sumra was defeated, Jahal freed and brought back to Saurashtra. On his way back Ra Navaghan halted again in the village of the Charans and persuaded the seven sisters to come with him. In Badhla he erected a temple for them and thus Khodiar was brought to the South-East of Saurashtra.

Thus the belief that the Charanis possessed by the mother or as her incarnation are able to bless or to curse can be traced back to remote times. It has been kept alive through many centuries up to the present day. In nearly every village one can hear about some miracles of the Charanis, deified or not. One of the lesser goddesses with a very limited local sphere of influence, is Rajal Vejhal, an Udia Charani. Her sacred place is in the Barda-Hills, opposite the village Tarsai, on the other side of the Bileshwari River. She has no image. There are only some stones under a Rayan tree out of which one is painted light red so that the stone seems to have eyes. Here as in the Gir Forest, the tree is an essential feature of a place of the *mata*. The story of Rajal Vejhal begins in Samvat 1721 (1665 A.D.), in the light half of the month Kartika.

The Udia-Charans lived near a Mer-village named Merwadara. Rajal Vejhal had a sister who was as beautiful as she herself. Bhutia-Mer molested the sisters and Rajal Vejhal cursed the whole village. It burnt down completely; even the children on the swing were burnt. The surviving Mers went away to Pashwali. Since then Rajal Vejhal is worshipped, especially by childless parents who are blessed with children for taking a pledge. There is an additional story how a Charani became the goddess of the Rabaris. Many Charans with their animals and families migrated during a severe famine to the Gir Forest and passed the village Panchal where the Rabari Bhutio Chhelana lived. The Rabari saw the next morning that the Charans had left all their children behind. Although Bhutio was not rich, he somehow managed to keep all the children alive till their parents returned the next year. Two of the boys' parents died or could not come back to claim them. When the boys grew up Bhutio made them *dasondis* of the Rabaris and gave them two golden horns. That is why their descend-

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ants are called Shingada-Charan (Horn-Charan). They became the *bhuvas* of Rajal Vejhal and persuaded all the Rabaris to worship her.

The stories about the Charani goddesses are stereotyped in most parts; even in particular situations the behaviour of the Charanis follows a pattern generally accepted for saints. One learns nothing about the personalities of the deified Charanis. It is taken for granted that the Charanis either led a saintly life, regardless of the narrator's understanding or showed signs of the powers of the mother-goddess by destroying or cursing her opponents. However, it may be presumed that women who became deified were impressive personalities. It would have been natural for all who knew them alive, to continue their prayers to them during the usual worship of the dead. Should by chance such prayers be answered, a cult could ensue. All these interesting details about the beginning of a cult are lost in the past and considering what is said about the deified Charanis, it remains incomprehensible for a critical mind to see why they were worshipped.

One example of this type of legend is the story of Vijal-Mata in the Barda-Hills, as told by 15 or 20 families of Agarvacha now living around Visavada in the Gir-Forest. Until about 1900 A.D. these families remained in Okhamandal, in the extreme West of Saurashtra but then the Jam, the ruler of Jamnagar, began to demand taxes from the cattle breeders which was reason enough for many of them to leave the country. Formerly those Agarvachas had lived in Kutch and were followers of Ravechi-Mata. Why they left Kutch is a tale of no interest here but when they settled down in Okhamandal-Saurashtra, they joined, without becoming unloyal to Ravechi, the cult of a *mata* whose shrine was situated within their new country. After 70 years of emigration, those in Visavada still adhere to Vijal-Mata in the Barda Hills. Without enlightening details they only say : Vijal was protecting an outlaw and the Rao of Kutch enlisted many of his soldiers to catch him. She concealed the outlaw in the hills and brought food and water to his hiding place every day. It was a sign of her divinity that the pots she was carrying did not touch her head but were suspended above it in the air. On account of this peculiarity and because of her going and coming, the soldiers became suspicious and followed her one day. She cursed them and they all turned to stone including herself. They can be seen thus to this day, the biggest stone in the middle being Vijal-Mata. Vijal-Mata is worshipped at the place of this incident which could not be located authentically. She has no other image, temple or shrine.

Blood-drinking, possession and cursing are the things which all sober persons nowadays detest and maintain that these do not relate to the *mata* they worship

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who is graceful, benevolent and motherly. But there can be no doubt that all these currently detested traits belong to a cult a thousand years old. Today they have been pushed into the background. However, they still survive and can be locally revived at any time. The question of tradition being right or wrong is a moral one, the answer to which must be left to the people concerned. However, it should be mentioned that the actual evidence is the outcome of an unchanging tradition. One such case where a Charani wanted and claimed to be an incarnation of Mahakali, was reported in 1959 and aroused the emotions of many, pro and contra. A very emotional account of the happening is available; however, a short article in a newpaper may be more satisfactory for an insight into the facts. It is reported that in a certain village in Saurashtra a Charani, a housewife, claimed to be the incarnation of Mahakali and found quite a number of followers. She earned money by giving knotted strings to sick people who were healed by believing in it. In the course of time, a community collected around her which erected a house for the "goddess" and also donated a tonga. One of the leading men of the village, a Charan himself, challenged her that the true proof of her being an incarnation of Mahakali would lie in her drinking the blood of a bull-buffalo. The Charani accepted the challenge and a day was fixed for the ceremony. A buffalo was brought and fettered before the fire place of the house. The Charani and some helping *bhuvas* appeared in trance and with drawn swords. Her followers started to sing and to beat the drums. The Charani made the first stroke to severe the bulls head, the *bhuvas* finished the work and the bull was killed. The Charani and her *bhuvas* collected a small quantity of the buffalo's blood in one of their hands and drank or licked it. Meanwhile the excitement of the people was steadily rising. While the Charani took her seat, prepared beforehand as the seat of the *mata*, many helped to bury the carcass of the sacrifice. Everyone present was now convinced that the Charani was really an incarnation of the mother and a general resolution was passed to hold the bull sacrifice yearly. As far as our informant knew it was, however, never repeated.

The other reason why Charanis are believed to be incarnations of the mother-goddess and as such spiritual leaders of their own and other communities, is that they bring about competition for a virtuous and honourable way of life. There is one living Charani Aisonbai who is respected and worshipped all over Saurashtra and in many parts of Gujarat and Kutch. She is also a divine and spiritual leader. We did not have the good luck to meet her personally and as stories from other people about her actions and way of life are likely to be biassed, only some information about her impressive influence upon parts of her community and on others shall be given.

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Aisonbai belongs to the Mad section of the Tumbel-para. One of the most respected poets of the Charans i.e. Dulakag Karani also belongs to the same para. Both of them are members of many communities and participate in many social functions to improve the conditions of the backward groups of their community. More sophisticated Charans see in Aisonbai only a respectable woman, leading an exemplary and saintly life while simple men and women see in her a true incarnation of the mother. She is said to be an educated woman who can read and write and knows about the history of her community. It is not her fault if the simple people adorn her with all the old glory of the divine Charanis e.g. clairvoyance, little miracles like those suspended pots over the head, miraculous healings etc.

Her demands on the members of her community for a better and progressive life are easy to understand although not so easy to fulfil. She requests them to lead a simple life, to forget about the wealth and honours of this world so that the godly in them may become effective for the benefit of the others. She sets an example for this way of life at her residence in Keshod where she has a simple house. It is open and hospitable to visitors and pupils who want to stay there for some time, learning, practising and assimilating the principles of a simple life and its effect on their normal duties which they are encouraged not to abandon but to turn to the advantage of their community.

The sphere of her influence ceases in North Gujarat and Rajasthan where the Maru-section of the Charans dominates which sometimes regards the Kachela-section, the Tumbel included, as a community distinct from their own. However, within the territory of her influence, we have seen Aisonbai's photograph in the wall-niches usually reserved for the holy *mata* of the family in many Charan houses and with Rabaris in Kutch (Bhuj, Kajra, Kodai, Fatehpur, Rapar, Lodrani), Saurashtra (Wadhwan, Surendranagar, Rajkot, Sasan and many *neses* in the Gir Forest), and East-Gujarat (Parthanpura or Partabpura-Nes). She is said to travel willingly even to the out of the way places whenever asked to help a good cause. Once she visited the Charan school for poets in Bhuj/Kutch and gave her blessings and she went to the school in Sasan, especially founded by the Government for children of the cattle-breeders in the Gir-Forest, i.e. Charans and Rabaris. The poet Dulakag was then the other guest of honour. Money was distributed to many poor *neses* of the forest but more important was the attempt to raise the ban put on the school by the main goddess of the Gir-Forest, Pithad-Mata. The ban implied that the boy going to school for one year would lose one wife, for two years two wives etc., besides suffering from other evils. Parents sent their sons to school only for a few months owing to this ban, and this

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was of no use at all. Things have become better after the visit of Aisonbai and Dulakag but the fear of the ban still lingers on.

Groups and individuals benefit by the teachings of Aisonbai in their struggle for adaptation to modern times. The Tumbels in the South of Kutch have given up the consumption of meat, an abstinence which makes them more acceptable to the ruling vegetarian Hindu society. The same group had abandoned paying money to the parents of the bride and/or bridegroom which was not originally their custom but had become a serious hindrance to timely marriages of the poor. Nowadays when they give money, they give it directly to the young couple which is a real help to them and to their future children. In Kutch and Saurashtra, we met more than one man who, reminiscent of the teachings of Aisonbai, confessed his abstinence from smoking, drinking alcohol, coffee, even tea. As we know cases of very poor people ruining themselves by being tea-addicts, the blessing of Aisonbai's influence is self-evident. There can be no doubt that this influence was carried by her personality but the readiness to let this influence transform one's own life is based on the religious conviction that Charanis may be incarnations of the mother and as such true leaders through this life unto salvation.

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KANIKA AND KANIṢKA — AŚVAGHOṢA AND MĀTṚCEṬA*

(with regard to Tibeten sources)

BY

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If we check Tibetan texts and other sources concerning the doubtful identity of Kanika and Kaniṣka on one side and the evidence of Aśvaghoṣa and Mātṛceṭa on the other we can arrive at the following hypotheses :

1. *Kanika and Kaniṣka*

Tāranātha (1608) mentions Kaniṣka as initiator of the 3rd Buddhist council.[1] Bu-ston (1290–1364) gives 300 or 360 years after the Buddha's nirvāṇa as the date of this council.[2] Sanag Setsen, the Mongolian authority, follows the tradition of 300 years after the Buddha's death.[3] The *Tanjur* (B. no. folio 32) dates the Third Council 400 after the nirvāṇa. Hsüan Tsang places Kaniṣka 400 years after the decease of the Buddha. Paramārtha's *Life of Vasubandhu* gives 500 years *post nirvāṇam*.[4]

If we consider these discordant dates and link them with the traditional dates of Buddha's nirvāṇa—which are also discordant—we must support F. W. Thomas' arguments against Fleet at the original Kaniṣka Conference. Fleet decided on 400 years after the *nirvāṇa* for the Council and Thomas found this 'merely arbitrary'.[5]

Distinct from Kaniṣka, who was said to be king of Jālandhara, Tāranātha[6] mentions king Kanika as ruler of Tili (Delhi) and Mālawa in the west. This Kanika discovered 28 mines of precious stones which were used for the continuous benefit of 30,000 *bhikṣus*. Tāranātha stresses explicitly that Kanika and

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1. P. 59 ff. Tāranātha states that this council took place either in the Kuṇḍalavana-vihāra of Kashmir or in the monastery Kuvana of Jālandhara.
2. Obermiller, vol. II, p. 97.
3. On this Mongolian source cf. Hoey, *JRAS*, 1913, pp. 962 ff.
4. Cfr. Fleet, *JRAS*, 1913, pp. 1004 f. and Frauwallner, p. 250.
5. *JRAS*, 1913, p. 1012.
6. Pp. 89 f.

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Kaniṣka are not identical. Why this stress ? We can suppose that there were traditions which did not distinguish Kanika from Kaniṣka.[1]

This story on Kanika is lacking in Bu-ston, but confirmed by Sumpa K'anpo's *dpag bsam ljon bzang* (ca. 1702–1775).[2] Sumpa replaces Mālawa by Palawa which seems to be wrong geographically. Sumpa also distinguishes between Kanika and Kaniṣka : in connection with the Third Council he mentions Kaniṣka, as Tāranātha did. I deem it necessary to point out that Sarat Chandra Das — to whom we owe the edition of Sumpa in 1908 — does not give a translation from Sumpa in his paper of 1893 as he claims. He has combined the traditions on Kanika and Kaniṣka into one story on king Kaniṣka. This may be right historically, but it is not a translation from Sumpa. Therefore, if Suzuki (pp. 15 f.) refers to S. C. Das' translation : 'Kaniṣka, king of Palhāwa and Delhi, was born 400 years after the Nirvāṇa...', he quotes a reconstruction, and not the translation of an extant text.

Two other sources give information on Kanika :

There is a reference to one Kanik'i rgyalpo who invaded India together with Guzan gyi rgyalpo and others to overthrow Śāketa.[3] Konow[4] elucidated this evidence from the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* and other sources. I prefer to leave this point to the connoisseurs of Chinese and Khotanese history.

The other source is the so-called *Mahārājakanikalekha* of Mātṛceṭa. We are indebted to F. W. Thomas for the edition and translation of this letter[5] which we will discuss in connection with Mātṛceṭa. In v. 49 of this epistle Kanika is said to belong to the *Kuṣa rigs*. The reference to the Kuṣāṇas is not disputed. The form *kuṣa*[6] may indicate in my opinion that *kuṣaṇa* is a secondary form. Lévi (*JA.*, 1896, p. 457, n. I) notes with regard to *Sūtrālaṃkara* (ch. 6) : 'le traducteur chinois a lu sans doute, soit par distraction, soit par faux savoir, *kuṣāṇām vaṃśe* au lieu de *kuṣaṇavaṃśe*'. I think the *Oxford History* (3rd ed., 1958, p. 146, note 1) is correct in interpreting "*kushān*" as gen. plur.—Irān also

1. Shackleton Bailey, p. 3, supposes this Kanika to be Kaniṣka II. Cf. my different opinion below.

2. P. 91.

3. *Ind. Ant.* 1903, p. 349. Thomas queries (*ibid.*) the reading *ka-ni-ka'i rgyal-po* as 'king of Kanika'. This reading is strange indeed, but the Tibetan Sanskrit Dictionary of C'ering dbang rgyal identifies *Ka-nis-ka'i rgyal-po* with Sanskrit *kaniṣkarāja*—here the Tibetan reading seems to be influenced by preceding *kaliṅka'i rygalpo = kaliṅkarāja*. F. Wilhelm, *Centr. As. Journ.*, 1962, p. 220.

4. *IHQ*, 1927, pp. 851 ff. *AO*, 1928, pp. 93 ff.

5. *Ind. Ant.*, 1903, pp. 345 ff.

6. The variant reading *kun ṣa* may be understood as an etymologizing form.

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represents a gen. plur. Thus this Kaṅika, the Kuṣāṇa king may well be identified with Kaniṣka, as was done by Lévi (*JA.*, 1936 (cf. below)).

There is another testimony for this claim : Bu-ston, whom we mentioned above, has the reading *ka-ni-ka* (Obermiller II, p. 97, n. 631 : Xyl. *Ka-ni-ka*). Obermiller is perfectly right in rendering this name as Kaniṣka, as this passage refers to the Third Council. From this old source we can see that Kanika was a doublet for Kaniṣka.

Even Albīrūnī[1] reports on Kanik, by whom he obviously means Kaniṣka : 'The Hindus had kings residing in Kābul, Turks who were said to be of Tibetan origin.... One of this series of kings was Kanik, the same who is said to have built the *vihāra* of Purushāwar. It is called after him '*Kanik-caitya*'.[2] Albīrūnī reports further that Kanik felt offended by the king of Kanoj who had presented to him, among other gifts, a gorgeous piece of cloth. But Kanik's tailor had not the courage to make dresses out of it, for there was the figure of a human foot, 'and whatever trouble I may take the foot will lie between the shoulders', which was a sign of subjugation. We find an interesting parallel to this story in Sumpa[3] and Tāranātha[4] when they report on the events after Kanika. The king of Tajik called K'unimamast felt offended by some gifts of Dharmacandra, the Buddhist king of Magadha, and invaded India again with an army of Turuṣkas who destroyed the Buddhist monasteries. After this the petty princes of Western and Central India were united by Buddhapakṣa, with the help of Chinese treasures, and the invader was driven out. One of these offending gifts was an unsewn silk robe with something like a footmark (embroidered) on its breast-side.[5]

Albīrūnī reports further that Kanik was going to attack the king of Kanoj. The king of Kanoj consulted his minister, who requested that he might be mutilated in order to find a device to outwit Kanik. After this had been done this minister told Kanik that he had tried to dissuade his king from waging war. Kanik trusted him and was led into a desert, but was afterwards saved. This seems to be a mere replica of the old story told in the 3rd book of the *Tantrākhyāyika.*[6]

With regard to the linguistic side of the problem I wish to quote Lévi, *JA.*,

1. Vol. II. pp. 10 f.
2. Cf. Bailey, *JRAS*, 1942, pp, 14 f.; 2500 *Years of Buddhism*, p. 201 : 'Ostensibly, this was the same building as Kaniṣka Mahāvihāra'.
3. P. 92.
4. P. 94.
5. Sumpa, p. 92 : '*...zab č'en gyi gos srubs med brang t'ang du rkang rjes 'draba yod pa žig skurba žing...*'.
6. Wilhelm, *Politische Polemiken im Staatslehrbuch des Kauṭalya* 1960, p. 53.

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1897, who points out the similar terminations of Kaniṣka and Turuṣka :[1] '... le nom de Turuṣkas (Tou-kiue) se substitue à celui des Tukhāras (Tou-ho-lo); la formation de ce nouvel ethnique présente avec la formation des noms royaux Kaniṣka, Huṣka, Vāsuṣka une analogie frappante; un parallélisme identique semble justement s'établir entre les transcriptions grecques de ces mots Kanērki, Hoērki, en face de Kaniṣka, Huviṣka, Tourkoi, en face de Turuṣka. La notation plus délicate de sanscrit semble avoir differencié deux phonèmes confondue par le grec et le chinois; Tourkoi et Tou-kiue d'une part, Turuṣka de l'autre, supposent un original tel que Tour + x + ka, l'inconnue étant sans doute la spirante gutturale...'. From Pischel[2] we see that *ṣka* and *ṣkha* become regularly *kkha* or *kka* in Prakit, so *turuṣka* becomes *turukka.*

I would here quote the oral information of my teacher Professor Hoffmann, who suggested that *turuṣka* is most probably an over-sophisticated sanskritization of an old *turuk(k)a.* In fact Tibetan texts also preserve the reading *du-ru-ka*[3] or *tu-ru-ka.* With this explanation we can exclude Lévi's unknown quantity.

With regard to the etymology of Kaniṣka, I believe Bailey[4] is right in explaining it as 'the little one' with the help of Khotanese *kaṇaiṣka* = 'the little finger' taking *-iṣka* as suffix.[5] Also interesting is Kaṇika, the mischievous adviser in *Mbh.* I, 140, whose name is written with cerebral *ṇ.* His name is not derived from Cāṇakya but from Kaṇiṅka Bhāradvāja, the little Bhāradvāja, in *Mbh.* XII, 140.[6]

Finally, we can say with certainty that Kanika is a linguistic doublet of Kaniṣka. As the historical basis of Tāraṇātha is extremely vague — Kaniṣka is reputed as the successor of the kings Nanda and Mahāpadma; Kanika is taken as the successor of Bindusāra and Śrīcandra — no stress can be laid on his differentiation and there is no cogent proof to identify his Kanika with Kaniṣka II or III.[7]

II. *Aśvaghoṣa and Mātṛceṭa*

Lévi and Suzuki have collected and discussed the material concerning Aśvaghoṣa as contemporary of Kaniṣka. According to Aśvaghoṣa's Chinese biogra-

1. P. II, note. *Rājat.*, I, 170 mentions Kaniṣka as a Turuṣka.
2. *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, Strasbourg 1900, p. 206.
3. Intial *d* is due to Tibetan pronuncitation.
4. *JRAS*, 1942. p. 250.
5. Konow, *AO*, 1928, pp. 93 f. takes *iska* as derivative suffix, but he connects the name with the Chinese *Kien.*
6. Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, pp. 55 and 61.
7. Against Tāranātha, Lévi, *JA*, 1896, p. 449.

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phy[1] the king of the Yüeh-chih accepted Aśvaghoṣa, the Buddha's bowl and a miraculous cock as ransom, in place of 900, 000 pieces of gold, from the defeated king of Pāṭaliputra. We know that he was a Brahman by birth, not born in the north. [2] While a brahman disputant in Central India he was converted to Buddhism either by Pārśva or by Āryadeva. In the *Saṃyuktaratna-piṭaka* [3] the Bodhisattva Aśvaghoṣa is mentioned as a spiritual counsellor of king Kaniṣka—besides Māṭhara and Caraka. One Khotanese source mentions Aśagauṣa (Aśvaghoṣa) as *kadāṇamaittra (* Skt. *kalyāṇamitra)* of King Kaṇaiṣka (Kaniṣka). This information we owe to Bailey (*JRAS.*, 1942, p. 20). Paramārtha's *Life of Vasubandhu* [4] reports that the poet Aśvaghoṣa was invited to come from Śāketa to the Kashmir Council in order to write the *Vibhāṣā*.

Before we turn to Tibetan sources and to the problem of Mātṛceṭa we wish to see whether there is any sound evidence by which to date Aśvaghoṣa independently of Kaniṣka. We know that he was an outstanding character of early Mahāyāna Buddhism and that he obviously belonged to the Sarvāstivādin-School. Aśvaghoṣa's writings allow us to place him somewhere between Vālmīki and Kālidāsa, which is vague enough. [5] When F. Weller published the Tibetan version of the *Buddhacarita* he expressed the hope [6] that publications like this might produce allusions concerning Kaniṣka. He writes to me now that his hopes have not been fulfilled. It is even doubtful (according to E. Conze) whether the patriarch Aśvaghoṣa, the author of the *Awakening of Faith*, and the dramatist and poet Aśvaghoṣa were one and the same ! The dates of Aśvaghosa handed down by Buddhist tradition are as unreliable as that of Kaniṣka's council. They vary from 300 to 600 after the Buddha's *nirvāṇa* (Suzuki, pp. 2 ff). The *Mahāyāna-śāstravyākhyā* of Nāgārjuna distinguishes six different Aśvaghoṣas. According to a prophecy *ex eventu* in the *Mahāmāyāsūtra* Aśvaghoṣa lived 500 years and Nāgārjuna 700 years after the Buddha died. However, the date of Nāgārjuna is also unsettled [7] and it is not clear whether the Aśvaghoṣa mentioned here was a contemporary of Kaniṣka. Chs. 14 and 31 of the Chinese version of the *Sūtrālaṃkāra* mention Kaniṣka and there has been a discussion whether Aśvaghoṣa, the supposed author of the *Sūtrālaṃkāra*, refers to past events or: '...il est permis de

1. Lévi, *JA*, 1896, p. 448.
2. Suzuki, p. 2.0
3. Lévi, *JA*, 1896, p. 472.
4. Frauwallner, p. 250.
5. Cf. Winternitz, II, p. 204.
6. *Das Leben des Buddha von Aśvaghoṣa*, I, pp. v f.
7. Cf. Lévi, *JA*, 1936; Lamotte, 'Sur la formation du Mahāyāna', in *Asiatica*, Festschrift Weller, Leipzig. 1954, p. 388.

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reconnaitre dans les deux récits un hommage délicat...adressé par le docteur du bouddhisme au protecteur de son église'.[1] The problem has been probably solved by Lüders (1926) who published the Sanskrit fragments of the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* discovered in Eastern Turkestan. Lüders showed that this is the original of the work which we know under the wrong title *Sūtrālaṃkāra*, its author being not Aśvaghoṣa but Kumāralāta, the Taxilan monk who lived slightly later.[2]

After considering all the material I cannot but say that the evidence for Aśvaghoṣa's being a courtier of Kaniṣka is by no means overwhelming. One should be aware that, for those who developed and elaborated legendary tales, to establish a connection between the famous Buddhist scholar and the prominent Buddhist emperor would have a certain attractiveness. As far as I know there is no hint of such a connection in inscriptions. One Sārnāth inscription mentions a mysterious Aśvaghoṣarāja, who, according to Vogel (EI., VIII, 1905, p. 171), was a contemporary of Huviṣka.

In Tibetan sources Aśvaghoṣa is identified with Mātṛceṭa. Tāranātha[3] and Sumpa[4] affirm that king Kanika invited Mātṛceṭa to instruct him in Mahāyāna Buddhism, but the famous sage apologized on account of his old age and sent his disciple with a letter. This does not agree with the Chinese tradition mentioned above. However, the colophon of the *Mahārājakanīkalekha* (ed. F. W. Thomas) mentions Mātṛceṭa and not Aśvaghoṣa. I-tsing distinguishes Mātṛceṭa and Aśvaghoṣa as different personages.[5] In my opinion Tāranātha identified Aśvaghoṣa and Mātṛceṭa for a specific reason, which Wassiljew (p. 82) already noticed long ago : 'Eine berühmte Persönlichkeit bewährt nicht bloss ihren Ruhm bei der Nachkommenschaft, sondern absorbiert auch andere Persönlichkeiten : Kaschmir wollte sich nicht mit einem Schüler des Aśvaghoṣa begnügen ; es sah eine grössere Ehre darin, ihn selbst zu rufen'. Tāranātha not only identifies Mātṛceṭa and Aśvaghoṣa (Tib. : *Ma-k'ol* and *rTa-dbyangs*) but he also alleges that this personality was also known as Durdharṣakāla (Tib. : *t'ub dka' nagpo*), Śūra, Pitṛceṭa, Maticitra and Dharmika-subhūti. Internal evidence shows that Aśvaghoṣa and Mātṛceṭa must have been two; I draw the attention to the fact that Tāranātha[6] and Sumpa[7] distinguish a later Maticitra[8] and a

1. Lévi, *JA*, 1908, p. 85.
2. Lévi, *JA*, 1928, sticks to the Chinese tradition.
3. P. 92.
4. P. 91.
5. Pp. 156 f. and 165.
6. Pp. 95 and 102.
7. Pp. 92 and 115.
8. The original from is *Mātṛceṭa* represented by *ma k'ol*, *Maticitra* and similar forms

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later Aśvaghoṣa inconsequently. The identity with Śūra has been refuted by Thomas and others (1903, p. 346). Shackleton (pp. 10 ff.) pleads for the identity on the basis of resemblances between the *Jātakamālā* and the *Śatapañcāśatka*, but he must admit (p.12) that such coincidences may be explained by borrowing.

Shackleton Bailey (pp. 7 ff.) stresses the fact the Bu-ston and Tāranātha mention the conversion of Mātṛceṭa by Nāgārjuna's disciple Āryadeva. He supports the theory that Nāgārjuna was a contemporary of Kaniṣka I and suggests that Mātṛceṭa wrote his letter to Kaniṣka II. Long ago F. W. Thomas (1903, p. 346) denied the reliability of this story of conversion. Lévi (*JA.*, 1936, pp. 101 ff.) gave the following interpretation of Mātṛceṭa's *Kanikalekha* : 'Invité par le roi Kaniṣka qui désirait s'entretenir avec lui sur la doctrine de Bouddha, mais trop vieux pour entreprendre un lointain voyage, son imagination semble placer devant ses yeux le roi absent; il lui parle, il l'exhorte, il le prie, il le presse, il multiplie les conseils directs, il va jusqu'à l'interpeller. C'est un programme d'action qu'il lui trace dans les cadres de la morale bouddhique, le programme d'un néophyte couronné, comme un autre Saint-Rémy en face d'un autre Clovis'. Lévi (p. 103) gathers from the epistle that Kanika must be Kaniṣka himself : 'Même si nous ne savions rien de Kaniṣka, nous pourrions conjecturer qu'il s'agit d'un conquérant étranger, issu d'une race qui a ses origines hors du pays (rang byung rnams, v. 49), formée a d'autres usages et récemment convertie'. However, the authenticity of the *Kanikalekha* is not attested by I-tsing, who yet reports on the *Suhṛllekha*. Sanskrit fragments of this epistle which would have proved the existence of such a text have not yet been discovered.[1] But fragments of the hymns of Mātṛceṭa have been found in Eastern Turkestan. Shackleton Bailey made use of them in his publication of 1951.

In 1937 Jayaswal and Sānkṛtyāyana published the *Adhyarddhaśataka* of Mātṛceṭa. Sankṛtyāyana discovered this Sanskrit manuscript in the library of Chag-pe-lha khang of Lha-khang-chenmo (Sa-skya). Under the title *Śatapañcāśikanāmastotra* this work is ascribed to Aśvaghoṣa in the colophon of the *Tanjur*. I-tsing (p. 156), however, ascribes it to Mātṛceṭa. Nevertheless the extended form in 400 verses is assigned not to Aśvaghoṣa, but to Mātṛceṭa by both authorities.[2] Winternitz (II, p. 211) supposes that Aśvaghoṣa and Mātṛceṭa be-

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are found in the *Tanjur* (cf. Thomas, 1903, pp. 346 f. Shackleton Bailey, p. 9; also C'e ring dbang rgyal : *ma k'ol = maticitra*).

1. I thank Dr. D. Schlingloff, Kiel (now Munich) for his kind information.

2. Cf. Thomas 1903, p. 347; The *Tanjur* assigns this *Miśrakastotra* to Matriciṭa (*sic*). and P'yogs kyi glang (Dignāga).

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longed to one and the same school and were therefore confused. Turfan research has helped us to form the picture of the three founders of Buddhist *kāvya*, Aśvaghoṣa, Mātṛceṭa and Kumāralāta, and to distinguish them as different personages. 'Mātṛceṭa wurde durch seine Buddhastotras der Vater der buddhistischen Hymnenpoesie...'[1]

With regard to chronology I must finally say that the traditional dates of the Third Council on the one hand and Aśvaghoṣa as well as Mātṛceṭa on the other are not reliable. Thus, as to the date of Kaniṣka, I believe 'that the finishing stroke should be dealt by the spade', if it has not been dealt already.

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1950; Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences; German Oriental Society (DMG); Linguistic Society of America. Author of *Pāṇini and the Veda* (1935); *Der Fremdling im Rigveda* (1938); Untersuchungen zur *Wortkunde und Auslegung des Rigveda* (1949); *Studien zur indogermanischen Wortkunde und Religionsgeschichte* (1952); *Heimat der indogermanischen Gemeinsprache* (1953); *Mitra und Aryaman* (1957); *Kleine Schriften* I, II (1971). Fields of specialisation : Ṛgveda, Vyākaraṇa, Proto-Aryan religion, Indo-European prehistory. Address : Spemannstr. 14, 74 Tübingen, F. R. of of Germany.

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lin 1964); *Zur Geschichte und Kultur der Jat* (Berlin 1968). Fields of specialisation : Theoretical ethnology, nomadic peoples of the Near and the Middle East. Address : Museum für Völkerkunde Berlin, Arnim-Allee 23–27, 1 Berlin 33, F. R. of Germany.

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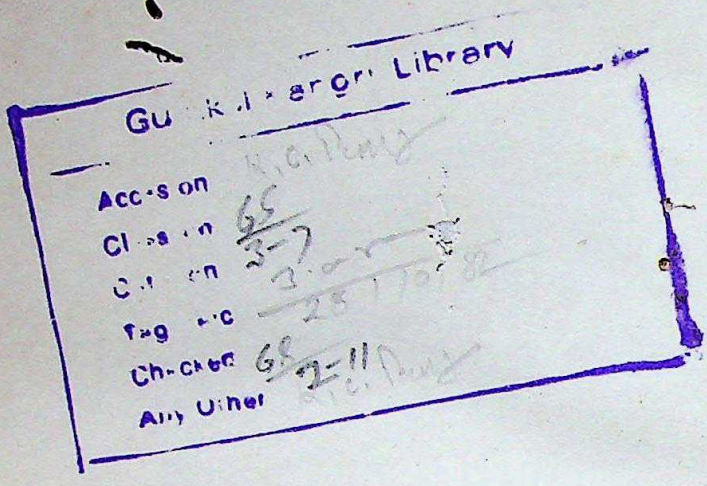

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